



**THE  
IMPERIAL  
REPUBLIC**  
JAMES C. FERNALD

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# THE IMPERIAL REPUBLIC

BY  
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JAMES C. FERNALD

AUTHOR OF "THE SPANIARD IN HISTORY," "THE NEW  
WOMANHOOD," "ENGLISH SYNONYMS, ANTONYMS, AND  
PREPOSITIONS," ETC.; EDITOR OF THE "STUDENTS  
STANDARD DICTIONARY"; ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE  
"COLUMBIAN CYCLOPEDIA."



WITH FIVE MAPS



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## PREFACE.

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"The fateful hours unnoted come ;  
Unfelt the turning tides of doom. "

THE events of 1898 have come upon America as a great surprise. Intervention in Cuba has involved what no man dreamed of. Do what we will, result how it may, this is one of the historic eras. Our great nation is being swept along by a world-movement greater than itself. The philosopher must be profoundly impressed by such a crisis, while the devout mind must inquire whether this demand, coming without man's plan or prevision, yet so nearly resistless in its impulsion, be not a call of God. Our continental seclusion was narrowing the circle of our views and of our sympathies. Suddenly we find ourselves a part of the great family of man. Shall we stay with our race? It may be that the outlook could be had without the outreaching—that we might have world-wide interests and sympathies, tho we should have no extra-continental possessions. In fact, this has not been. But with our ships and our sons in the Caribbean and the Philippines, nothing that may happen on the round earth will be a matter of indifference to us evermore.

Like all great and high endeavor, the new policy will involve something of difficulty and danger. We would not, if we could, be screened from all the toils and perils through which the redemption of the world is wrought out.

The author has undertaken in the present volume to show that these dangers are fewer and less deadly than many thoughtful men have believed, and at the same time to point out the material advantages that lie along the line of the expanding policy; since, for a nation, material advancement is also duty, in behalf of its own people as well as for power abroad.

We would widen the range of vision and of opportunity. We would have an outlook for every adventurous American toward all the ends of the earth. We would awaken the seagoing instinct among our people along all our five thousand miles of coast. We would have our flag floating over peaceful commerce in every port on the globe, and a navy sufficient to defend it in any need on any sea. We would have that flag mean everywhere what it means in our own land—civil and religious liberty, industrial advancement, popular education,—the church, the school, the home, in the light of freedom, under the shield of law.

JAMES C. FERNALD.

NEW YORK, January 15, 1899.



# CONTENTS.

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## CHAPTER I

	PAGE
The Ghost of Imperialism . . . . .	7

## CHAPTER II

Our Traditional Policy . . . . .	21
----------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER III

"Entangling Alliances " . . . . .	38
-----------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER IV

The United States as a Sea-Power . . . . .	49
--	----

## CHAPTER V

Trade Follows the Flag . . . . .	69
----------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER VI

The Imperial Language . . . . .	86
---------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER VII

The Highway to the Orient . . . . .	101
-------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER VIII

The Empire of the Pacific . . . . .	119
-------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER IX

	PAGE
The Debt of Humanity . . . . .	141

## CHAPTER X

Colonial Policies Contrasted . . . . .	156
--	-----

## CHAPTER XI

A True Colonial Policy . . . . .	161
----------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XII

Possibilities of Our New Possessions . . . . .	183
--	-----

## MAPS.

United States—Area, Acquisition, and Transfer of Territory . . . . .	32
Comparative Map of the Atlantic and Pacific Areas .	100
Hawaii . . . . .	184
West Indies . . . . .	186
Philippines . . . . .	191

# THE IMPERIAL REPUBLIC.

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## I.

### THE GHOST OF IMPERIALISM

Two Definitions of Imperialism—Strength and Weakness of Despotism—The Common People the Real Power in any State—What Produces Despotism?—The Problem of Wealth—Industrial Decline does Not Conduce to Freedom—Extent of Territory—Extra-Continental Possessions—The World's Great Despotisms Extended over Continuous Territory—Egypt—Assyria—Babylon—Persia—China—India—Russia—Compactness of the Roman Empire—Ancient Mexico and Peru—Freedom of Sea-faring Peoples—Greece—England—England Freer with than without Colonial Possessions—A Worthy Imperialism—Character, Not Area, the Determining Element.

ACROSS the gateway to America's future stands a grim specter, with antique helmet, spear, and shield, the stars of ancient night "dim twinkling through his shadowy form," while his gigantic outline is already growing indistinct in the rosy dawn of the world's new day. Let us deal with

this apparition, which men call Imperialism, as ghosts are ever best dealt with, by meeting it boldly face to face.

What is imperialism? Two answers are possible. The terror which many feel at mention of the word arises from considering only one definition. In this view, imperialism denotes a system that holds a number of states originally separate under the forcible dominion of an autocratic ruler—the emperor—thus subjugating millions throughout vast provinces to the rule of a single despot, such as emperors have commonly been.

That this system is powerful in its incipency needs no argument, and that it is weak in its fruition needs no proof. By obliterating the individuality of millions, it gives to their subjugated action the efficiency of a single will; but by this very obliteration of the popular individuality behind the ruler, it reduces him to the weakness of a single man. He comes to represent a constituency of nonentities, and when the outer circle of his hireling legions is once broken, an insignificant force can crush the empty egg-shell of his dominion.

It was once supposed that a tree lived by the great tap-root that strikes down deep into the soil, and that if this was but preserved, all the smaller roots might be ruthlessly cut away. It is now



known that the life of the tree is in the myriad tiny fibrous rootlets that creep unnoticed close beneath the sod. If these are kept uninjured, the tap-root may be cut squarely off, and the tree grow on unharmed. So the life of a nation is in the great host of its common people, who toil and struggle, plan and hope, joy and sorrow, live, love, and die individually unheeded. If it is well with this vast throng, the nation is prosperous. If they are oppressed, wretched, and in decay, no wooden persistence of a tap-root dynasty can save that nation from extinction.

The preservation and prosperity of this common people is the American ideal, as expressed in the very meaning of the word "republic," *res publica*, the public weal. Individuals, classes, corporations stray away from the ideal, caught by some glamour of momentary and limited success, which bears within itself the elements of its own destruction, in so far as it acts as a destroyer of the people. But the heart of the nation is true to the spirit of its loved and honored chieftain, to whom "the plain people" were so dear.

Imperialism, in the sense of despotic rule, can have no place in our American republic, except by the destruction of the republic itself, and the extirpation of the American ideal. With such imperialism republicanism is relentlessly at war.

They are absolute contradictories, the one being the negation of the other. Whenever and wherever any man or set of men undertakes to unite these antagonistic elements in any degree, whether in a municipality, on a railroad, or in a mill, there arises a storm, unrest, agitation, that will by no means be soothed, however short-sighted schemers may wonder at the effervescence that follows the attempted fusion.

The conditions that necessarily produce imperial despotism can not be tolerated in our American life. Let us then inquire what those conditions are.

Is vast wealth one of those conditions? Then our republic is already doomed; for we are now the wealthiest of nations, and, unless hindered by atrocious mismanagement, must still go on to vastly increasing riches. Nor could we hope to gain in freedom by deliberate self-impoverishment. No nation ever advanced in the higher elements of individual and national character by industrial decay. Every city, town, or community where business is steadily declining is witness to a moral retrogradation more deplorable than any financial loss. The bright, ambitious, aspiring, executive spirits hasten away, while those who remain lose heart, abandon endeavor, and become far inferior to their own possible selves.

Numbers, when the higher hopes are gone, find intemperance and vice the readiest consolation. Dr. Johnson pithily expressed a great truth in the statement, "Men are seldom more innocently employed than when they are making money." Prosperity is not of itself an enemy to virtue or freedom, while the decline of industry and the loss of opportunity and hope are deadly in their long result. The way of safety is forward, and not backward. The American people must simply grapple with and solve the problem of making national wealth and public freedom exist and advance together.

Or does extent of territory necessarily tend to despotism? In that case, again, our republic is doomed. For we have in any event the vast territory—the central range of that continent which combines most of the conditions of prosperous human existence, and which must in the not distant future number its population by hundreds of millions. If vastness of territory necessarily leads to imperial despotism, it is too late to begin to draw the line, for the evil is already done. Many believe that this is the real fact, and that the necessary gravitation of our nation is to the solid concentration of military despotism. There are those who would welcome this as the solution of all our strikes, agitations, and conflicts; but to

the great mass of our people, and to all thoughtful men who love human freedom, and hope for human progress, such a conclusion of all the toils and sacrifices of the past would be utterly abhorrent—a thing to be prevented at any cost.

But there is abundant reason to believe such a view very short-sighted, founded upon Old-World analogies, and discrediting that inventive genius of the American people, which will find a way to make large public liberty consist with vast domain. At all events, this is the problem set before us, with the stern necessity to solve it or die.

But there are still many who, while believing that we may remain a free and mighty people with our continental domain, despair of such a result if this territory is enlarged by extra-continental and distant possessions, especially when such possessions are of lands inhabited by peoples widely different in origin, character, and temper from our own. It is in this view that imperialism looms up to such persons as a practical and imminent peril. This, then, is the point worthy of discussion.

Now the history of the world's great despotisms shows that imperialism in its worst form—the dominion of individual despotism over subjugated peoples—has been nowhere so readily and so firmly established as over unbroken stretches



of continuous territory. Egypt was one strip of fertile land bordering the Nile, and shut in between the Red Sea and the desert. There the pyramids, the rock-hewn tombs, and the colossal statues still attest at once "the power of the kings and the servility of the people." A population of slaves, the very persons of the common people being the absolute property of the Pharaohs, reared the great structure of Egyptian splendor, while her monarchs could travel in their chariots of state to the farthest limits of their domain.

The Assyrian and Babylonian empires were solid stretches of territory, with only "the great river," Euphrates, serving as a connecting waterway rather than a dividing line. Persia was an unbroken continental empire. The ten thousand Greeks marched through the heart of the empire on dry land till they reached the ocean, the emblem of liberty, and that shout ran along their line, "*thalassa! thalassa!* the sea! the sea!"

China, the most perfect, stationary, and enduring of all despotisms, is such a compact and undivided piece of land that it was actually fenced in, like a baron's estate, by the great wall, extending along the northern border of the empire for more than fifteen hundred miles. The case of India was substantially the same, tho there—in the Himalayas—Nature had built the wall.

Over the region between the mountains and the sea, the tyranny was absolute.

Russia, the typical despotism of modern times, whose government has been defined as "an autocracy limited by assassination," extends continuously across two continents, from the Baltic to the Pacific, and from the Polar to the Black and Caspian seas. The whole vast space from boundary to boundary can be traversed by carriages or sledges, and soon will be crossed by railway lines uniting central Europe with farthest Asia, a distance of 6,666 miles from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok, with every foot of track laid on Russian ground. By her recent extension of dominion over Chinese territory to Port Arthur, Russia has secured for the railway that crosses two continents a terminus in a temperate instead of an Arctic region, but still over continuous territory, so that when the vast work is done, the Czar, governor, or military commander need not leave his palace-car till he reaches the Pacific shore.

It may indeed be urged that the Roman empire was divided by the Mediterranean and its connected seas. But such division was clearly not the cause of Roman imperial despotism, since we have seen that despotism the most absolute can exist without such geographical division. In fact, the Roman dominion was unified by the vast

system of Roman chariot-roads—wonderfully perfect structures—the ruins of which still remain, in many places capable of being traversed to-day. Post-houses, established every few miles, furnished instant change of horses, so that couriers could travel at highest speed between the farthest limits of the empire and the imperial city—the nearest approach to the modern railway possible to the ancient civilization. At the same time, the short reaches of the Mediterranean were covered by regular lines of galleys and merchantmen, so that it has been aptly said that that wonderful people “made the Mediterranean a Roman lake.” It was, as Gibbon has shown, the very compactness of this dominion that made the imperial despotism possible. The horde of imperial spies swiftly passing to and from every point in the empire brought the story of every man’s words and acts immediately to the imperial ear. The victim of imperial tyranny had nowhere to flee, because practically the whole civilized world was in his tyrant’s grasp, while the tyrant’s eye observed him as closely on the farthest frontier as in the eternal city. Thus the Roman empire had virtually all the characteristics of one vast, solid, continuous domain.

In the New World the empires of Montezuma and of the Incas were continental, with no out-

lying lands. That of Montezuma was an iron despotism, while that of the Incas was a vast system of paternalism.

Thus the inference would be, that nothing would be so favorable to imperial tyranny as that great expanse of unbroken territory fenced in between the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf, which has until lately comprised the United States; and on the other hand, that extension of dominion abroad, with its variety of populations and diversity of interests, might make such a concentration under despotic power less feasible and less probable.

In favor of the latter view may be instanced the history of Greece, with its colonies covering the islands of the *Ægean*, the shores of Asia Minor, Sicily, and Southern Italy, and yet long maintaining republican freedom at home.

A more conspicuous instance is that of England, which, with world-wide extension of dominion, has grown steadily freer, so that the Englishman of to-day, whose queen is entitled Empress of India, would not for a moment tolerate the tyranny which his fathers patiently endured from Henry VIII., whose whole domain was within the British isles, not even including all of Great Britain itself. Little Holland, too, whose youthful queen has just assumed the crown,



has not been made a despotism by her vast and distant possessions in the New World and in the south sea, comprising an estimated area of 700,000 square miles, against 12,630 square miles of the home land, with a colonial population of 30,000,000 contrasted with a population of 4,500,000 in the Netherlands proper.

Thus the fact is made evident, by a review of history, that freedom or slavery depends upon the character of a people, and not upon the extent or variety of their domain.

There is possible another definition of imperialism, in accordance with which it may denote a governmental system that combines a number of originally separate states under a single dominion—not necessarily despotic, but supposably enlightened and liberal. In this sense, imperialism is not necessarily liable to censure, but may be worthy of admiration and honor. So understood, the term does not inaptly describe the government of that aggregation of states that constitutes our own republic—*e pluribus unum*. Our domain is already an empire, and our government in a high, true sense, imperial. Free as it leaves the citizen within its domain, it holds that domain under the one flag with an iron hand. It took four years of fire and blood to assure ourselves and all the world, that we have a union, and not

a confederacy—a government, and not a copartnership. Now, probably no man in the reunited nation would have the Government less strong, the domain less wide, or the States composing it less compactly united. One cause of rejoicing over the recent war with Spain is, that this union has been cemented in the affections of all the people—North and South, East and West—so that we have an empire of hearts, and not merely of lands, and are held citizens of one country by the attraction of love more resistlessly than by the compulsion of the sword.

It is only in this latter sense, with the ideal of a strong, wide-ruling government making ever more steadily for human freedom, and worthy of the patriotic devotion of all who inhabit the vast realms under its sway—it is in this sense only that any true American will be found to advocate or desire imperialism.

It will be promptly objected that this is a mere figment of imagination—a dream of the study—never realized, nor to be realized in the living world. The answer is, that Americans are capable of doing something new, of breaking ancient precedent, and of establishing new precedents for the after-time. We have been doing this from the dawn of our national history, and we are doing it to-day. Never on earth before has there existed

so vast a republic as that included in our own continental domain, between the oceans, the Lakes, and the Gulf. We stand with an absolutely new achievement under our feet, our frontiers stretching wide on the north, the south, the east, and the west, and all within them a republic. It is vain to tell us of Old-World precedents, for we have already done what the Old World never did. We believe that the same men can keep on doing the same thing on a yet grander scale. The spirit of freedom is not like the witches and goblins of old that could not cross a strip of open water. Its home is in the hearts of freemen, and the freeman makes free soil wherever he sets his foot. With steam and electricity annihilating distance, there is no reason why that which Americans have done on the American continent can not still be done by Americans on any soil, under any sun. A few thousand miles of sea, a few degrees of latitude will not destroy the vitality of republican liberty if we are but true to our sires and ourselves. The issue of freedom or despotism in the centuries to come turns upon the question, What manner of people shall we be? not upon the question, What lands shall we possess?

Expediency, necessity, and duty are combining to urge us to the new expansion; but the shaping

of our destiny is in our own hands, according as we use the new and vast opportunities ill—to our own ruin and that of our dependencies; or well—to our own welfare and glory, and the blessing of the world. It is for Americans to do that new thing among the nations—to make an imperial domain a republic.

## II

### OUR TRADITIONAL POLICY.

**The Original Thirteen States—The Louisiana Purchase, 1803—Jefferson's Doubt of His Constitutional Right to Purchase—Objections of Josiah Quincy, Daniel Webster, and Others to Territorial Additions—Compared with Present Objections to Annexation of the Philippines—How England has Developed India — Reception of Florida — Texas — California — New Mexico — Alaska—Vice-President McGee on Expansion.**

WE hear much of "the traditional policy of the United States," as if that had been a policy of immobility and severe limitation of territory. But what has been the fact?

Let any one take a map,<sup>1</sup> and trace the boundaries of the original thirteen States that formed the Constitution—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—then cast his eye over the vast territory reaching to the Pacific, and he can not re-

<sup>1</sup> See Map of Territorial Accessions, p. 32.



press a smile at the contrast between the old and the new United States. The territory originally included in those thirteen States contained only 827,844 square miles, with a coast-line of 1,500 miles. It was for that little strip on the Atlantic seaboard that some of the grandest statesmen of all the ages pledged their "lives, fortunes, and sacred honor"—for so small a homeland that Washington and the Continental armies endured the toils and battles of the seven-years' war, and starved and shivered through the terrible winter at Valley Forge! The record still stands in the thirteen stripes of the flag, unchangeable in number, while the blue field is already crowded with its clustering stars, among which ever and anon new lights appear, as the telescope brings to the eye ever new members of the host that stud the sky.

Scarcely had the new nation entered the new century, ere, in 1803—only fourteen years after the adoption of the Constitution—the administration of Jefferson annexed the vast province of Louisiana. This was not, it must be remembered, the territory included in the State that now bears that name, but that immense region north of Florida, west of the Mississippi, and, as its boundaries were finally determined, reaching across the Rocky Mountains, and including Oregon, on the Pacific Coast. So doubtful was the right of

such annexation considered that Jefferson contemplated the proposal of a special amendment to the Constitution to authorize the act after it should have been consummated.

It is of interest, just at this time, to note that the special occasion of this extension of territory was an arbitrary decree of the Spanish intendant, Morales, then governing New Orleans, who, in 1802, denied to citizens of the United States even the right of deposit at New Orleans, thus sealing up the highway of the Mississippi. But meanwhile it had become known that by a secret article in the treaty of St. Ildefonso, in 1800, Spain had ceded to France the entire province then known as Louisiana. The final result is related as follows in Bryant's History of the United States:<sup>1</sup>

"The Western States roused themselves and protested that they would take the city [of New Orleans] and sweep the Spaniards, if necessary, into the sea. Impelled by their indignation, Jefferson sent new powers to Livingston, our Minister in France, to whom Monroe was joined, and bade the two propose to the First Consul *the purchase of the island on which Orleans stands, and the right of passage to the sea.*

"The commissioners were authorized to offer the First Consul two and a half million dollars. Before Monroe's arrival, however, Livingston was met by a proposal which astounded him. Napoleon was sure by this time that the

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<sup>1</sup> "A Popular History of the United States," by William Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay, vol. iv., p. 145.

existing peace with England would not last long. England had the supremacy of the sea, and as soon as war began, her fleet would seize New Orleans and the mouths of the river. When the journals announced that the new American envoy was on his way, he sent for Marbois, his Minister of the Treasury, and bade him meet the commissioners immediately, and offer to sell them the whole region for 50,000,000 francs."

Marbois however, put the price at 100,000,000 francs. Livingston and his companions asked time to send the proposal home. But the imminent danger of a war between France and England, urged them to decision, and they at length agreed to purchase the territory for 60,000,000 francs, or about \$15,000,000.

"Napoleon afterward said of the transaction: 'This accession strengthens forever the power of the United States. I have given England a rival.'"

But the historian continues:

"The consent of the commissioners to this great purchase was not received in America with the enthusiasm which it deserved. They did not themselves in the least know how well they had builded. When, in the previous negotiation, Talleyrand had asked if the Americans wanted the whole, Livingston had stoutly said: 'No,' and had said truly. In one of his letters he was careful to impress on the French that *the United States would not for a hundred years make any settlements west of the river*. 'I told him that we had no wish to extend our boundary across the Mississippi.' These were Livingston's words, and the same indifference to territorial aggrandizement may be

observed in all the public utterances of the time. Before the invention of the steamboat, indeed, the regions acquired were *so nearly inaccessible* that statesmen may be pardoned who did not foresee their exceeding value to the nation."

The territory of Louisiana then contained about 85,000 mixed population and 40,000 negro slaves. The territory aggregated 1,171,931 square miles.

The new acquisition was vigorously opposed in Congress. Senator Pickering, of Massachusetts, thus expressed himself:

"It is declared in the third article [of the treaty] that 'the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States.' But neither the President and Senate, nor the President and Congress, are competent to such an act of incorporation. He believed the assent of each individual State to be necessary for the admission of a foreign country as an associate in the Union."

Senator White, of Delaware, said:

"But as to Louisiana—*this new, immense, unbounded world*—if it should ever be incorporated into the Union, of which I have no idea—it can only be done by amending the Constitution—I believe it will be the greatest curse that could at present befall us. It may be productive of innumerable evils, and especially of one that I fear ever to look upon. . . . Thus our citizens will be removed to the immense distance of two or three thousand miles from the capital of the Union, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the general Government—their affections will become alienated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers—they will form other com-

mercial connections, and our interests will become extinct. . . . And I do say that under existing circumstances, even supposing that this extent of territory was a desirable acquisition, fifteen millions of dollars was a most enormous sum to give."

Representative Griswold, of Connecticut, declared:

"It is not consistent with the spirit of a republican government that its territory should be exceedingly large; for, as you extend your limits you increase the difficulties arising from a want of that similarity of customs, habits, and manners so essential for its support.

"It will not be found either in the report of the secret committee, which has recently been published, or in any document or debate, that any individual entertained the least wish to obtain the province of Louisiana; our views were then confined to New Orleans and the Floridas. . . . *The vast and unmanageable extent which the accession of Louisiana will give the United States: the consequent dispersion of our population, and the destruction of that balance which it is so important to maintain between the Eastern and Western States, threatens, at no very distant day, the subversion of our Union.*"

Representative Griffin, of Virginia, protested:

"He feared the effect of the VAST EXTENT OF OUR EMPIRE: he feared the effects of the increased value of labor, the decrease in the value of lands, and the influence of climate upon our citizens who should migrate thither. He did fear (tho this land was represented as flowing with milk and honey) that this Eden of the New World would prove a cemetery for the bodies of our citizens."

The objection to receiving this vast region as an



integral part of the Union did not cease with its actual possession as territory of the United States. When, in 1811, the bill for the admission of the present State of Louisiana—the mere southern corner of the new possession—came before the House of Representatives, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts thus expressed himself:

“To me it appears that it [the passage of this bill] would justify a revolution in this country; and that in no great length of time it may produce it.

“I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that *if this bill passes, the bonds of the union are virtually dissolved.*”

Appealing to the preamble of the Constitution, he continues:

“It is we, the people of the United States, *for ourselves and our posterity; not for the people of Louisiana; nor of New Orleans, or of Canada.* . . .

“The great objection is to the principle of the bill. *If this principle be admitted, the whole space of Louisiana, greater, it is said, than the entire extent of the old United States, will be the theater in which this Government assumes the right of exercising this unparalleled power.* And it will be; there is no concealment; it is intended to be exercised. . . .

“This Constitution never was, and never can be, strained to lap over all the wilderness of the West, without essentially affecting both the rights and the convenience of its real proprietors. *It was never intended to form a covering for the inhabitants of the Missouri and the Red River country.* And whenever it is attempted to be stretched over them, it will rend asunder.

"Why, sir, I have already heard of six States, and some say there will be, at no great distance of time, more. I have also heard that the mouth of the Ohio will be far to the east of the center of the CONTEMPLATED EMPIRE. . . .

"It was not for these men that our fathers fought. It was not for them this Constitution was adopted. You have no authority to throw the rights and liberties and property of this people into 'hotch-pot' with the WILD MEN ON THE MISSOURI, NOR WITH THE MIXED, THO MORE RESPECTABLE RACE OF ANGLO-HISPANO-GALLO-AMERICANS, WHO BASK ON THE SANDS IN THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI. . . .

"Do you suppose the people of the Northern and Atlantic States will, or ought to, look on with patience, and see Representatives and Senators from the Red River and the Missouri pouring themselves upon this and the other floor, managing the concerns of a seaboard fifteen hundred miles, at least, from their residence; and having a preponderancy in councils to which, constitutionally, they could never have been admitted?

"This GREAT USURPATION which creeps into this house under the plausible appearance of giving content to that important point, New Orleans, starts up a gigantic power to control the nation. . . .

"I oppose this bill from no animosity to the people of New Orleans, but from the deep conviction that it contains a principle incompatible with the liberties and safety of my country. . . . This bill, if it passes, is a death-blow to the Constitution. It may afterward linger; but, lingering, its fate will at no very distant period be consummated."

When the bill for the settlement of Oregon Territory came before the Senate in 1843, Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina, said:

"For whose benefit are we to pass this bill? Who are

to go there along the line of military posts, and take possession of the only part of the territory fit to occupy—that part lying upon the seacoast, a strip less than one hundred miles in width? for, as I have already stated, the rest of the territory consists of mountains almost inaccessible, and low lands which are covered with stone and volcanic remains, where rain never falls except during the spring. . . . Why, sir, of what use will this be for agricultural purposes? I would not for that purpose give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. *I wish to God we did not own it.* I wish it was an impassable barrier to secure us against the intrusion of others. This is the character of that country. Who are we to send there? Do you think your honest farmers in Pennsylvania, New York, or even Ohio or Missouri will abandon their farms to go upon any such enterprise? God forbid! . . .

“Now, what are we to gain by making the settlement? In what shape are our expenditures there to be returned? When are we to get any revenue from those citizens of ours who go to that distant territory—thirty-three hundred miles from the seat of government, as I have it from the Senator from Missouri? What return are they going to make us for protecting them with military posts, at the expense at the outset of \$200,000, and swelling hereafter, God only knows how much. . . . *What will they return us for this enormous expense*, after we have tempted them by this bill to leave their pursuits of honest industry, *to go upon this wild and gambling adventure*, in which their blood is to be staked?”<sup>1</sup>

In opposition to the same measure, Senator Dickerson, of New Jersey, said:

“We have not adopted a system of colonization, and it is to be hoped we never shall. *Oregon can never be one*

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<sup>1</sup> Benton, “Thirty Years’ View,” vol. ii., p. 471.

of the *United States*. If we extend our laws to it we must consider it as a colony. . . . Is the Territory of Oregon ever to become a State, a member of the Union?

"Never!

"The Union is already too extensive."

Daniel Webster said, in discussing the bill for the admission of Texas, December 22, 1845:

"I have, on the deepest reflection, long ago come to the conclusion that it is of very dangerous tendency and doubtful consequences to enlarge the boundaries of this country, or the territories over which our laws are now established. There must be some limit to the extension of our territory, if we would make our institutions permanent. And this permanency forms the great subject of all my political efforts and the paramount object of my political regard. The Government is very likely to be endangered, in my opinion, by a further enlargement of the territorial surface, already so vast, over which it is extended."

In reading words like these, we seem to be perusing again the utterances of eminent men of the present day. Thus, in an interview published in the *New York Times*, October 21, 1898, Mr. Andrew Carnegie is reported to have expressed himself as follows:

"If the United States is going to undertake the government of the Philippines and go in for expansion throughout the world, putting her hand in the hornets' nest of European rivalry, there can be no prosperous business. We shall be subject to wars and war's alarms.

"Business is the child of security and peace. The entrance of the United States as a new power in the far East will set every one of the present powers to a study of the

question from a new standpoint. We shall be compelled to increase our navy. We must pay for a large standing army, and there is neither rest nor security for us. Before the American people comes now the most serious issue since the issues of independence and of secession. A false step now and the future of the republic will, in my opinion, be seriously impaired and its industrial career retarded. The development of one State in the Union in peace and security will outweigh all the increase of profit we can get from foreign trade in any of the worthless possessions which we can attempt now to take. The Philippines have a certain trade which can not be greatly increased; the wants of the people are few; barbarians are no customers; civilized people are the consumers for our products."

How closely Mr. Carnegie's characterization of the Filipinos resembles Mr. Quincy's description of "the wild men on the Missouri," and "the mixed race of Anglo-Hispano-Gallo-Americans who bask on the sands in the mouth of the Mississippi"! The touch of American civilization has transformed lands and people, turning the wilderness into fruitful fields, and the people into prosperous, law-abiding American citizens. To assume that the people of the Philippines must always continue "barbarians [who] consume little," is to forget the results of British rule in India, where consumption of the products of European civilization has steadily increased. In the "Statesman's Year-book for 1898" appears the following statement:



“The value of the sea-borne external trade of India has risen in the 63 years, 1834-35 to 1896-97, from Rx.<sup>1</sup> 14, - 342,290 (\$71,710,000) to Rx. 198,110,103 (\$990,550,000), the increase being nearly fourteenfold, making on the average a rate of 20.34 per cent. annually.”

Is it hopelessly impossible for Americans to do what the British have actually done?

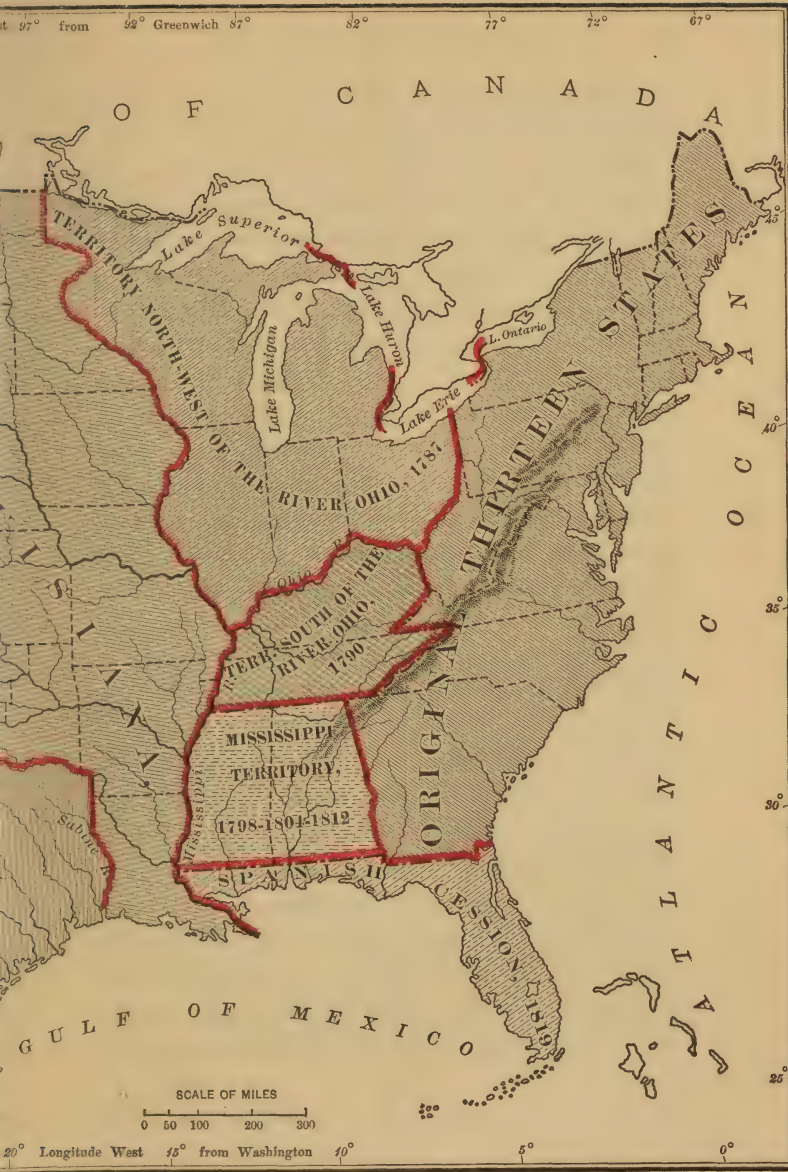
It is gratifying to know that the really great and good man, Josiah Quincy, who made the protest above quoted, lived to take a broader view—to join heartily in the struggle, and to see the dawn of the victory for the wider and indissoluble Union, which none defended more gallantly than troops from the very States organized in those wild lands which he was so averse to admitting to a place in the nation.

From that territory of Louisiana there have been organized the States of Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Oregon, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming, and the Territory of Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. The imagination fails to picture what would have been the result if the United

<sup>1</sup>Tens of rupees, the rupee varying in value with the exchange value of silver, nominally equaling 2 shillings or 50 cents of American money; ten rupees (Rx.) being estimated for purposes of comparison in this volume at \$5.











States had been deprived of this grand reinforcement of power, or if those lands had been given up to the dominion of some alien and perhaps hostile European power, or left as the theater where two or more such powers might for a generation have fought for the mastery.

When there were no steamships on the ocean and no electric cables under it, a startling opportunity was suddenly thrown into the lap of our envoys beyond the sea, with no chance to confer with the government at home. They had the statesmanlike prescience, courage, and decision to seize the occasion, and the national administration had the wisdom, even in the face of its own doubt of its own powers, to ratify their act. Who would change it to-day?

This accession was but the beginning. Florida, withering in the grasp of Spain, was ceded to the United States in 1819, a territory of 60,000 square miles, for \$5,000,000. It is remarkable that by the same treaty, the land now forming the bulk of the State of Texas, which had been included in the Louisiana purchase, was actually given back to Spain in deference to the wishes of a strong party in New England, who objected to any expansion of the United States to the west and south. Before Spain could take possession, Mexico had secured her indepen-

dence of Spain, and the cession of the territory of Texas was concluded with the republic of Mexico. Yet even this could not stay the steady march of acquisition, for in 1845<sup>1</sup> Texas, having become independent of Mexico, was received as one of the United States, adding to our territory 376,163 square miles. The territory included in New Mexico and California was ceded to the United States by Mexico, in 1848, 268,242 square miles, for \$15,000,000. To this was added in 1853 the Gadsden purchase from Mexico, of 45,535 square miles, for \$10,000,000. In 1867 Alaska was ceded to the United States by Russia, 531,409 square miles, for \$7,200,000.

Every one of these extensions of territory was at the time condemned and deplored by many excellent people. Every one has subsequently won general approval. California was distant three months' journey by land. Much of this was by wagon train across "the Great American Desert," which irrigation by means of artesian wells has now filled with fertile farms, and the railroad with prosperous cities. It was distant

<sup>1</sup> A seeming discrepancy is found in the dates given for the admission of Texas, for the reason that the joint resolution of Congress admitting Texas as a State was passed December 27, 1845; this was accepted by Texas, February 19, 1846; the territory included was finally surrendered by Mexico at the close of the Mexican War, in 1848.

six months' journey by water around the dreaded Cape Horn. The inhabitants were Spanish-Americans, Indians, and half-breeds. Its agricultural and its mineral resources were alike unimagined. Yet the men of faith prevailed, and California was acquired. Vice-President W. J. McGee, of the National Geographic Society, in the *National Geographic Magazine* (September, 1898) remarks:

"This career of territorial expansion in the half-century from the Louisiana purchase to the Gadsden purchase, forms the most striking chapter in national development afforded by the history of the world."

He points out the fact that by these various acquisitions the area of the United States was nearly quadrupled, and the coast-line more than tripled. Mr. McGee continues:

"With each areal addition national enterprise merely found a curb removed and sprang spontaneously to meet the new tasks and new problems presented by the new territory; and the energies of the people, withheld from martial conquest by moral sense, turned with unprecedented vigor to the conquest of nature, to the conversion of natural forces for human weal. The effect of the expansion on national character—foreshadowed by the advance of 1803—was beyond all parallel; for enterprise interacted with enterprise, and brought forth an individual and collective activity among the mass of citizens such as the world had not seen before.

"Now, after long begging for admission, as Texas begged fifty years before, Hawaii is admitted, with 6,640

square miles of area and a wealth of coast line ; the garden island of Porto Rico, 3,670 square miles in area, is gladly entering the domain of America as an incident of a war for humanity's sake ; and the hundreds of Philippine islands, comprising 114,326 square miles of aggregate territory, are looking to America for protection and ultimate absorption. Considered merely as territory, these additions, aggregating 124,636 square miles, would form but a ripple on the stream of national progress, even if consummated at once ; the area is little more than twice that of the Gadsden purchase, less than twice that of the Florida purchase, only a third that of the Texan annexation, less than a quarter so large as either the California acquisition or the Alaskan purchase, less than an eighth of the nation-shaping acquisitions of 1803, less than 4 per cent. of the previous area.

"Apart from the events of 1898, one of the striking features of American history has been almost unparalleled territorial expansion with quite unparalleled territorial assimilation ; and, viewed in the light of this history, the comparatively slight expansion of 1898 but marks the resumption of a career temporarily checked by a combination of circumstances.

"Cautious students presage the future from the history of the past ; and the American of to-day must look to the lessons of 1803, 1821, 1845, and 1848 for indications of results to follow from expansion in 1898. The trend of these lessons is clear. After a generation of concentration, American energy is more tense than ever before ; American enterprise and capital are overflowing in every direction—in Canadian mines, in Mexican railways, in South American plantations, and in scores of other ways ; American progress has outstripped that of the rest of the world in every line save that of oceanic shipping ; American genius will not be pent, and is bound to diffuse itself by individual effort, if not by national action. Such is

the present condition of the United States, as demonstrated by any fair arrangement of figures or growth-curves—the young giant is rending his chains. The prospect is definite. Just as the Louisiana purchase in 1803 made America a steamboat nation, and just as the acquisition of California in 1848 made America a railway and telegraph nation, so the acquisition of Hawaii and Porto Rico and, above all, of the Philippines in 1898 must make America the naval nation of the earth ; for the problem born of the accession would be that problem of navigation which needs American genius for its final solution, while America needs the incentive to strengthen that element in which alone she is weak.”

On a review of our history, the truth seems to be, that we have had a traditional *theory* of limitation and repression, with a real *policy* of continuous territorial expansion. The policy of fact and action—in other words, the policy of expansion—is the true traditional policy of the United States.



### III

#### "ENTANGLING ALLIANCES"

**The Real Cautions of Washington's Farewell Address—European Policies of Washington's Day—Great Popular Movements of European Nations in the Present Century—Washington's Desire to "Gain Time" for the New Republic—Application of His Principles to the Present—Our Necessary Responsibilities Abroad—All Alliance or Partition of Lands with Spain to be Avoided.**

It seems to be as impossible for the American citizen to quote Washington's Farewell Address correctly, as to quote correctly the Declaration of Independence. The latter document is constantly appealed to as affirming that "all men are created free and equal." The majority of people would be surprised to learn that the words "free and equal" are nowhere associated in the Declaration, and that what Jefferson wrote and our fathers subscribed to was, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are *created equal*, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness." The prevalence of such an

error shows how few people ever read for themselves the great charter of our liberties, and how content they are to take it at second or at thousandth hand.

In like manner, we are constantly assured that Washington in his Farewell Address warned his countrymen against "entangling alliances with foreign nations"; and most persons would be equally surprised to learn that no such combination of terms is to be found in the whole Address. The real cautions of the father of his country will repay careful and thoughtful reading:

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. . . . The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, *in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible.*

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to *implicate ourselves by artificial ties* in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

. . . . .  
 "Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. . . . Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, *by interweaving our destiny* with that of any part of Europe, *entangle our peace*

and prosperity in the toils of European *ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?*

"'Tis our true policy to steer clear of *permanent alliances* with any portion of the foreign world. . . . Taking care *always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture*, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony, *liberal intercourse with all nations* are recognized by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: *neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors and preferences.*"

By study of the full text it becomes evident that the "entangling" against which Washington warned his countrymen was not that of association or intercourse, near or far. On the contrary, "liberal intercourse with all nations" is "recognized by policy, humanity, and interest." Distinct provision is made for "extending our commercial relations." Nothing was further from the thought of that great statesman than to make of the United States a "hermit nation."

The "entangling" against which Washington protests is that of "political connection"; it is the "implicating ourselves by artificial ties" in the vicissitudes of European politics; it is not the dealing with Europe, nor the meeting of European interests on any field, but the policy of "interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe," "seeking or granting exclusive

favours and privileges," that we are admonished to avoid.

An illustration of his meaning is given in a later part of the Address, where he refers to his own course of strict neutrality in the war then raging between France and England,—part of the series of conflicts which continued almost without cessation till the downfall of Napoleon in 1815. Many Americans would have been glad to take sides with France, partly because, like ourselves, she had overthrown a monarchy and proclaimed a republic, partly in acknowledgment of her aid in our own revolution, and partly because of the still intense hostility to England that had grown out of that conflict. In giving the reasons for his firm neutrality, Washington says, near the close of the Farewell Address:

"With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor *to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions*, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes."

Here this policy of isolation is distinctly recognized as in part temporary and provisional. The distinct implication is that when those "yet recent institutions" should be "settled and matured," and a commanding degree of "strength

and consistency" attained, a different policy might be contemplated. Washington was too broad a man to imagine that he could lay down rules to bind his country for all time. In this Farewell Address, as in all his career, one of the most impressive features of his greatness appears in what he did not do—the fine sense of the true limitations of human wisdom and power.

What he saw in the distance is now attained. We have "settled and matured our institutions"; we have "progressed to that degree of strength and consistency which gives it [our country], humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes." It is from this advanced position that we are to ponder the cautions and warnings of the great Founder of the Republic, taking as the guide of present action so much as is suited to our present situation, possibilities, needs, and duties.

Even in Europe, circumstances have greatly changed. The struggles and wars of Europe, for much of the period before the close of the eighteenth century, were of rival dynasties—Stuart, Hapsburg, or Bourbon—or of the personal ambitions of princes or their favorites or mistresses—or of intriguing priests and prelates, all which are so fitly characterized as "the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice." From such complications our American republic

can never keep too absolutely aloof. They are foreign to the very ideal of our national life and to our deepest intellectual convictions. It is nothing to us who rules any European nation, nor whence the ruler is sprung, so that he rules well. Any one of our own Presidents is nothing to us more than a respected citizen (if he prove himself worthy of respect), to be greatly honored if, and only if, he greatly serves the people. We hold that the affairs of seventy millions of people are not to be administered for the purpose of apotheosizing a President or of allowing some one citizen to hold the Presidency for a second term. Government on the personal basis is to us primarily contemptible, and, if urged upon us, is ultimately hateful. Hence, as we look across the seas, we say, all honor to William of Germany, or Nicholas of Russia, if each does well for Germany or for Russia; if not, all honor to whomsoever may take his place and do better. With such matters, we have as a nation no concern, except as the welfare of our own citizens may at any time be involved.

But the struggles of the closing part of the eighteenth and of all of the nineteenth century have been far different. They have been the movements of peoples, the extension of the colonies and trade of England; the attempt to estab-



lish freedom on a secure basis in France; the creation out of a chaos of petty states of the kingdom of Italy, and its emancipation from ecclesiastical domination; the unification of Germany, merging in one nationality all that horde of principalities and dukedoms that were the torment and distraction of the young geographer when some of us went to school; the silent onward sweep of the Russian glacier, held back by the Crimean war from overwhelming Constantinople, and now descending upon China in the farthest East; the alternate restraining and sustaining of "the unspeakable Turk"; the watching of "the concert of Europe" around that Asiatic excrescence which must some day be eradicated from European soil; the rush of the nations to colonize the Dark Continent, now newly opened to the light; and last, the precipitation of the influence, the capital, the commerce, and perhaps the arms of all Europe upon China. In movements like these it is impossible that Americans should not have the deepest interest. It is impossible that American ships, sailors, tradesmen, explorers, tourists, and missionaries should not sooner or later be caught in the swirl. Then we shall be impelled, even driven, to intervene for them unless we are willing virtually to say to the nations: "You can not do the wrong to our citizens, or heap the out-

rage on our flag that will rouse us to draw the sword in their defense." Such a course could only expose the republic to universal contempt; and contempt—on the part of the inferior races, at least—is the sure incentive to aggression and injury. We must be prepared, and have it known that we are prepared, to defend our citizens on any shore and beyond any sea.

But if we have no foothold in the hemisphere where the mighty stir of nations is, and is to be, we shall, in any time of need, attempt to intervene at such immense disadvantage as will almost insure defeat. We shall not have avoided the complications, but simply have shorn ourselves of the power to meet them well. It is impossible for a nation of 70,000,000—soon to be 200,000,000—fronting on the two great oceans, to keep out of touch with the march of nations, the mighty movements of the world. We must encounter them. The only question is, shall it be well or ill, strongly or weakly, with or without experience and training, with or without adequate foothold and leverage?

It is a thrilling consideration that just at this time of crisis, when the future is big with incalculable possibility and promise, the hand of Providence should have given us that vantage-ground in the far East—to us the far West—that may

enable us to speak and act effectively on the scene where most assuredly we shall be compelled to speak and act somehow.

As regards those farthest lands, there is one alliance absolutely, even desperately to be shunned, and that is alliance with Spain. If such alliance is allowed, our officers must then be on terms of courtesy and fellowship with Spanish governors and commanders, gain their estimate of the natives, and see them through Spanish eyes. The Spaniards will then be the "friendly nation." In disputes between them and the natives, we shall often be compelled to take their side, because that will be the legal side, while the natives will be "insurgents" on their own ancestral soil. The armies of freedom may thus be required to aid in remanding resisting subjects to Spain's intolerable rule.

Our officers will become familiar with Spanish methods of at once exploiting the natives and defrauding the home government. Americans are human, as the record of our Indian agents shows. They will see Spanish officers amassing fortunes in a single term of office, and yet we shall require of them the heroic virtue of being content with moderate salaries. The lower civilization, in such conjunction, is sure to corrupt the higher. Should such a result come to pass,

it would not be the first time that a conquered people has prevailed over and remolded its conquerors for good or ill.

In such alliance, too, there would be divided responsibility. Spaniards would blame Americans, and Americans would blame Spaniards, for every wrong or outrage. Divided responsibility is the sure condition of corruption and oppression.

We have seen Spanish rule just off our own shores, and know it to be a dominion at once of incapacity and atrocity. The time may come when Spaniards will have learned a better lesson, and Americans may then take a different course. Now we find them loaded and stained with four hundred years of colonial misrule, which our American republic must not share by the touch of a finger.

Let us start afresh. What we have of the once Spanish territory let us have clear and clean—all subject to our own dominion, and all holding us to single and undivided responsibility before God, the nations, and the future. So we have taken the Philippines. In the same way it is greatly to be desired in the final developments of diplomacy, that we may have not one of the Ladrões, and one of the Carolines, but all of each great group, if by fair purchase they may be obtained—the stepping-stones that bridge the

way to our new possessions in the Philippines. What we can not so receive, let us shake ourselves absolutely clear of, withdraw without contamination, and leave Spain, or any other power that may intervene, to do what wrong it will, but without our complicity. Let it be absolutely settled and manifest where American power and responsibility end, and Spanish rule and responsibility begin—if they must coexist. Let us have no more alliance or partnership with Spain in the Orient than in the Caribbean. Let us have no “entanglement” with the false and ruinous precedents of Spain’s colonial rule; but address our energies, new, fresh, unfettered, and unpervverted, to our new problem of colonial expansion.

## IV

### THE UNITED STATES AS A SEA-POWER

Coast-Line of the United States—Impossible to Fortify Whole Coast—Necessity of a Navy to Defend—Defenselessness of the Modern City—The Navy the Police of the Seas—Steam Necessitates Coaling-Stations—Expense of the Modern Navy—How to Meet the Expense—A Vast Commerce Needed—Commerce Brings Wealth and Employs Labor—Commerce Must be Protected—“Remember the ‘Maine’!”—The Avenging of Wrong or Injury a Necessity for Protection of Our Ships or Citizens—Commerce and National Habits—French Compared with British Commerce—Decline of the Foreign Commerce of the United States—Commercial Opportunities of the Present.

THE continental territory of the United States has a coast-line of 5,270 miles, not including Alaska or the shores of the Great Lakes. Of this sea-coast, 2,163 miles are on the Atlantic, 1,343 on the Pacific, and 1,764 on the Gulf of Mexico. If we measure around the islands, bays, inlets, etc., the total distance is 21,354 miles. All this sea-coast we must be capable of defending against all the world; that is, against any one or more of



the great European powers. Coast defenses are important, and, given time enough, can be made impregnable against direct attack. But we can not place a bristling array of armor-piercing cannon around 5,000 miles of coast. Only the chief points can be so defended; and every one of these might easily be flanked by an enemy that had control of the sea. So the British took Havana in 1762, and so the American forces have just taken Santiago, without an attacking fleet entering the harbor in either case. It is easy to say that no foreign army could maintain itself on our soil; and that is true in the long run. We should overwhelm any possible invading force, after we once got thoroughly ready to fight. But if we should be unable to defend the sea, one of the perfectly disciplined and perfectly equipped armies of Europe might do immense damage, or even capture one or more of our great cities, before a hasty levy of volunteers could be put in condition to meet them. A modern city, with its high buildings depending on water artificially forced upward, with not a well within its limits, its soil poisoned by leakage from gas-mains and sewers, and its food supply graduated to the speed of railroad trains, is one of the most defenseless aggregations of humanity ever assembled on the planet. An enemy that could blockade its rail-

roads could reduce it to swift starvation, while the cutting of its water supply would not only subdue its population by the agonies of thirst, but would make every inhabited building pestilential by reason of its unflushed drains. Against such danger there are but two resources—a rationally effective army on land, and a defensive control of the sea. Not all the fortresses that could have been built on her shore could have defended England so well against the Armada as the ships of Drake and Howard, nor so well against Napoleon as the fleet of Nelson. The poetic lines express sober, practical truth:

“Britannia needs no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her fortress is the mountain wave,  
Her home is on the deep.”

A fleet is a moving fortress that can be sent to meet an enemy wherever that enemy attempts to strike.

The very contour of the continent, as God has fashioned it, makes a powerful navy a necessity of the future for the nation that stretches across its center. Such a navy, on the most conservative estimate, must be great and powerful, because of the vastness of our territory and the amplitude of the wealth and population we have to defend.

The navy is the police of the seas. Even if

the Czar's proposed disarmament of nations could be carried out on land, it would not be practicable on the ocean, which would soon swarm with pirates and buccaneers. No longer ago than 1815, the United States was compelled to send Decatur against the Barbary corsairs. The advent of steam with the consequent necessity of coaling makes piracy now impossible, while the fleets of all nations unite to suppress it; but if the war-ships were once withdrawn, many an obscure and half-civilized state would wink at the supplying of freebooters in its ports for the sake of the profit to be gained from despoiling the argosies of the nations. Fighting ships must patrol the seas; and of this force the United States must have a part proportioned to the magnitude of the interests it has to guard and the rank it must take among the powers of the world in order to speak and act effectively in the possible controversies of the future.

This fighting force will be a vast expense. Battle-ships, costing millions to build, grow old in less than a score of years—a mere day in the life of a nation. New inventions constantly appear, involving new constructions to meet them. Breech-loading cannon, rapid-fire guns, smokeless powder, compel radical changes. Scarcely has our new fleet been built and tested—and stood the

test so well—when it is found that the Krupp must supersede the Harveyized steel on our new battle-ships, while the speed must be increased beyond the estimate deemed sufficient when the keels of these were laid.

Our navy of the future must be a great and ever-increasing expense. It is as idle to complain of this, or to protest against it, as it would be to complain of the expense of the police-force or fire-department of New York City. New battle-ships are as necessary to the nation as steam fire-engines are to the city; and city or nation must have more of either as it grows—and can afford to have them because it grows. The cost is counterbalanced by the protection.

We need not now dwell on the recent naval triumphs, which are fresh in the memory of every American. First of the nations to test in actual conflict the great steel-clad modern battle-ships, each at once a miniature city and a fighting-machine, with mechanism as intricate and wellnigh as delicate in its exactness as that of a watch, our seamen held all in such perfect control that they could thread intricate and dangerous channels by night—could sail with wave-washed decks around the continent's southern shore—and on sudden summons, all unwarned, could make each ship spring to its work as if obedient to the com-

mander's thought, all that complicated machinery, engines, steering-gear, turrets, guns, telephones and electric lights, acting in unison like the nerves, muscles, and veins of an athlete's body, while the guns sent their great projectiles from the moving deck into deadly impact with the moving target across miles of sea. All that mortal men can accomplish with the modern warship, American commanders, sailors, and gunners can do on any sea or along any shore. This defensive power we must keep fresh, strong, and vigorous, never allowing it to decline, nor the personal heroism it involves to become a reminiscence. The navy must keep the sea, know by constant experience its tides and currents, calms and storms in every clime, know its shores and ports and lights, and hold that readiness for battle at a moment's warning which comes only from regular artillery practise.

But we err if we think of the outlay for the navy on the sea as a direct tax imposed on the people living on the land; as if the navy were a mere floating wall to keep us in, and the farmer must sweat in the field, and the operative drudge in the mill, to keep these ships and seamen afloat upon the water and idle except in the rare contingency of a war. The proper correlative of a mighty navy is a mighty commerce, repaying

a thousandfold the cost of the force maintained for its own protection.

To such a commerce our extensive seacoast calls us on. Not to meet the possibility is to leave unutilized one of our chief resources. If a strip of arable land measuring five thousand miles around its outer edge were thrown open to settlement, an army would be needed to control the onrush of prospective settlers. Yet all the wealth of that land would be within a few inches of its surface, while the rim of ocean opens to all the riches of the world. Venice, almost afloat on the sea, and Holland scooped out of the ocean's bed, grew wondrously wealthy of old, merely by the treasure their adventurous mariners brought from afar. With scanty resources at home, they grew rich as the carriers of the world. We have an ocean front to which their utmost reach is trifling and petty; but, better yet, we have behind the shore, not the lagoons of Venice, nor the Netherland sand-dunes, but a continent with prairies, forests, and quarries, mines and mills, producing in profusion supplies for which the world is waiting. We can carry to every land something needed there, and bring from every land something needed at home.

Our coast-cities are full of unemployed or half-employed men, many of them adventurous spirits,



often drifting into vice and crime because of energies called to no worthy use, and of wants meeting no adequate supply. To such the decks of a merchant-marine offer an opportunity at once of support and of adventure. Our labor problem would be greatly simplified if a vast commerce were calling young men from every port to follow our flag on every sea, as the fisheries on the Grand Banks draw off the men of Gloucester and Marblehead.

For such a commerce, protection on every sea and on every shore is as necessary as is the policing of the streets of New York to the maintenance of its trade. If stones were liable to be thrown through Tiffany's windows without hindrance or detection, there would be no diamonds exposed there; or if a gang of drunken roughs were liable at any time to crowd into Wanamaker's, the choicest goods and the most alluring prices could not draw customers. The invisible policeman, whom we can never find when we are looking for him, has nevertheless a subduing and deterrent power over all the rude horde, that would else pour out from the slums to sack all the riches of New York, and make it soon as desolate as Palmyra. So for the existence of a prosperous commerce it is necessary that any little sailing-vessel that may wander into any far

port shall have behind it the shadowy battle-ships of its home-land, ready to appear as steel-clad realities if any molestation is offered to ship or seaman, or any dishonor to the flag.

It was not a barbarian instinct of revenge that rang out the cry, "Remember the *Maine*!" It was not a feeling against which the church need protest, nor of which the Christian citizen need be ashamed. This is a case in which there is need of definition. Revenge and avenging are not the same. Revenge is personal, bitter, often undeserved, and often excessive. Avenging is free from personal bitterness and marked by exact justice; it is almost identical with retribution, without which not even God can judge the world. We can not predicate revenge of God, but we can fitly speak of the Divine avenging. So the Scripture declares "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord."

So, likewise, we are told that "the ruler beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, an *avenger to execute wrath* on him that doeth evil." This every national government is bound on occasion to do; and such avenging, where fit and just, is at once a godlike prerogative and a stern necessity. The only way in which the ships and citizens of a nation can be made secure in foreign ports is by exemplary

punishment of any treachery or violence of which they may be made the victims. When such perfidy or violence is recompensed by the sinking of the fleets, or the bombardment of the cities, of the guilty nation, the proceeding is every way as justifiable as the policeman's clubbing of a rough who assaults a citizen, and the summary punishment of the offender by the police-court, and is a transaction of precisely the same character, sternly demanded alike by justice, Christianity, and humanity. In either case the lesson to the offender—whether man or nation—and to all others of the same moral grade is, that *it will be dangerous to do that thing again*. It is only by the enforcement of just this lesson in actual fact and concrete instance that our homes, our streets, or our business—ay, or our very worship—are made secure. It is only by the same means that our commerce and our fleets can be protected. The “sword” of Scripture, translated into modern speech, means the rapid-fire gun and the thirteen-inch shell. It is weapons such as these that, as the minister of God, the ruler beareth not in vain. Commander Wainwright expressed the true thought well, when on the deck of the *Gloucester*, amid the burning wrecks of Cervera's fleet, he uttered the firm, calm words, “The *Maine* is avenged!”

Nor does it become the church, which may at any time invoke the strong arm of the government for the protection of its missionaries and mission property, to denounce the only method by which governmental intervention can be made to mean anything. Among all the lower grade of nations, the remonstrance of ambassador or consul is effective only in proportion to the assured prospect that the thunder of cannon will reecho his words. The church invokes all this as a possibility every time she seeks governmental protection. Without the cannon and the avenging, the appeal of the church alone would have higher power than that of government. With the assurance of the avenging of perfidy and outrage, her prophetic Scriptures ring—an avenging, too, in which the purpose of God is accomplished by the hand of man, when “Jehovah of hosts mustereth the host of the battle.” And if she would take refuge in the New Testament, there she reads that the ruler “beareth not the sword in vain, for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil”—evidently to execute the wrath after the evil is done, so to prevent its being done again.

Nor do we believe any thoughtful man can help feeling that when the roar of Dewey's cannon at Manila answered the sullen rumble of the

Spanish mine at Havana, till, without losing a ship or a man, he had sent every Spanish ship to join the ill-starred *Maine*; or when again at Santiago, on that bright Sabbath morning the American war-ships swept down like hawks upon their prey, till the whole shore was lined with the blazing Spanish wrecks, and but one hero slain on the victorious fleet, that "the just God who presides over the destinies of nations" had interposed with His own high hand to avenge by signal and world-wide retribution the midnight treachery before which the great battle-ship went down.

For, the destruction of the *Maine*—in spite of the strenuous endeavor of the Administration to treat it as "a minor incident"—was the real determining cause of the war with Spain. The American people could not treat it as an "incident." Time did not allay the bitterness of the blow; on the contrary, their indignation grew deeper and more intense with the lapse of every day. As the feelings, benumbed and bewildered by the sudden shock, resumed their normal force, men heard in every still hour the dull boom that broke the quiet of the Cuban night, and resolved—as Americans can resolve—that the harbor beneath whose dark waters our brave seamen had sunk from sleep to death, should be brought

under the protection of the American flag, and emancipated Cuba be the monument of the martyrs of the *Maine*.

Thus Captain Sigsbee writes<sup>1</sup>:

"The explosion of the *Maine* at Havana, on February 15, 1898, was the ultimate incident which impelled the people of the United States to regard Spain as an impossible neighbor. Altho the war which followed was not founded on the destruction of the *Maine* as a political cause, that disaster was the pivotal event of the conflict which has terminated Spanish possession in the Western World."

There is no doubt that henceforth the ships and citizens of the United States are safer in every port on the earth because of the victories that have, in fact, avenged the destruction of our battle-ship. This is no time to dull the edge of the sword with ecclesiastical platitudes, and to proclaim that never again will we exact any retribution for the most dastardly outrage upon our citizens or our flag. Every war-ship means retribution in case of need; and a powerful fleet able to accomplish its purpose is every way as religious as a feeble one that joins to the same intent a hopeless incapacity of performance.

Just now, there is a conquering power in the

<sup>1</sup> "Personal Narrative of the *Maine*," by Captain Charles Dwight Sigsbee, in the *Century Magazine*, November, 1898.



American name. But a little while ago all nations looked upon the American flag afloat with mild contempt. They knew we could fight on land, but they neither feared nor respected us on the sea. They had seen the American commerce swept from the ocean by the Confederate *Alabama* and her two little consorts, and they had seen a generation go by leaving us powerless to restore our flag to the place it held in the infancy of the republic, or to build again a merchant marine. The estimate in which we were held in comparison with Great Britain is strikingly illustrated by the affair of the *Virginus*. While the Spaniards were coolly shooting the captured Americans in rows along the shore at Santiago, a single British steamer, the *Niobe*, ran into the harbor, and the mere word of her commander, Sir Lampton Lorraine, instantly stopped the massacre. Even as long ago as 1873 blood was thicker than water, and in true hearts the Anglo-American alliance had begun. There is a singular fitness of retribution, too, in the fact that Santiago, the scene of that massacre, should, twenty-five years later, be the scene of the overwhelming American victories by land and sea.

A personal incident may be worth noting to the same effect. A young man of Canadian birth, but educated in the United States, said

to the writer that he would not become an American citizen, because he was going as a missionary.

"If I continue a British subject," he said, "I can appeal to a British consul or military commander in any part of the world, and be sure of protection by the whole power of the British army and navy. If I become an American citizen, I have no such assurance."

This distinction, so unfavorable to the United States, was at that time strictly just.

By the Spanish war, all this is changed. Now if we say to the nations that we mean what our cannon said at Manila and Santiago—and that those victories are the headlights of the advancing republic—if we increase our navy to the magnitude becoming a first-class power, and send out a mighty merchant marine to trade with the remotest lands, we may open to our people the wealth of the ocean which covers three-fourths of the surface of the planet, instead of nailing them down to a single strip of land, to the resources of which an increasing population must some time find a limit.

Such a commerce will save us from the narrowness and stagnation which come to any people, however numerous and however vast their territory, who deal only with themselves. It will provide adventurous occupation for a host

of sturdy men. It will bring to us the riches of every clime. It will repay a thousandfold the cost of the navy required for its protection. Such a commerce and such a navy will win for our principles of republican liberty that respect which the world in general pays only to principles that are armed with power, and will enable us to speak with effect against intolerable oppression in any land. We can make the whole world a better place because the great American republic is a factor in its destiny; and we can protect every American trader, sailor, scientist, explorer, or missionary by making the name of the American citizen as effectual a safeguard in the modern as that of Roman citizen was in the ancient world.

The United States must go on to be a world-power, or it must shut the door of glorious opportunity, pause in the path of natural advance, and from that moment begin to retrograde toward Chinese immobility and decay. The opportunity of such advancement by a free people to commanding place and power in the world, is one that statesmen and heroes of many a past age would have hailed with triumphant joy, and to it we may almost apply the words of Holy Writ: "Many prophets and kings have desired to see those things that ye see, and have not seen

them, and to hear those things that ye hear, and have not heard them."

It may be urged that even if we do not seize the present opportunity, an expanding commerce will come of itself, as the nation grows in wealth and internal power. But this is by no means certain, nor even probable. Nations, like individuals, form habits, which when once formed become ever more and more controlling. The seafaring habit once lost is apparently never regained. France has a fine seacoast opening to the North Sea, the English Channel, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean; determined, and even desperate, attempts have been put forth to make the French a sea-going people. But, as compared with the Briton, the Frenchman is not a sailor, and he now never will be, because he has lost command of the sea, either for peace or war. With a population of 39,464,582 in 1896, the United Kingdom had 15,739 vessels of 8,933,340 tons, with crews numbering 242,039 men. France, with a population in the same year of 38,517,975, had 15,536 vessels, but of these 13,521 do not exceed 50 tons each, so that the total tonnage is only 894,071, while the crews number only 88,544 men. Thus with a population almost identical, the tonnage of France is a little more than one-tenth and the number

of her sailors a little more than one-third that of the United Kingdom. It is noticeable that Great Britain did not build up her supremacy on the sea after she became rich, but in the old struggling days, when most that was wanted on the island was to be got by going away from it. Now the sea-going temper and nautical skill and power are part of the very life of the people. The United States is still young as a nation, and may be supposed to be plastic, but exhibits many signs of maritime decay. With a population now estimated as above 70,000,000, this country in 1897 had 22,633 vessels of 4,769,020 tons—a little more than one half the tonnage of the United Kingdom. The tonnage of United States vessels engaged in the foreign trade in 1897 (792,870), while nearly equal to the entire tonnage, home and foreign, of France (894,071), was less than one-eleventh of the tonnage of the United Kingdom engaged in the foreign trade (8,933,340). In 1895, the foreign commerce of the United States was nearly one-ninth that of Great Britain; in 1897, it had sunk to the proportion of less than one-eleventh that of Great Britain. How long at this rate will it be ere we shall conclude that the British are divinely destined to do for us all the troublesome and perilous work of the sea, and to reap its incalculable rewards? More-

over, this tonnage of 792,870, engaged in the foreign trade in 1897, shows a decrease from that of 1896 of 36,693 tons. "Of the total foreign trade conducted in vessels in 1897, only 11 per cent. in value was carried in vessels belonging to the United States. The proportion has *steadily decreased* since 1859, when it was 66.9 per cent."<sup>1</sup>

It does not take many generations of such steady decrease to destroy in a people the habits of the sea, and after that happens, opportunities of maritime success are offered to them in vain. We may seize the present occasion, when the victories of our navy have surrounded the seaman's life with a romantic glory, making it attractive to numbers of young men, and when the possible openings in new lands are inviting American capital and enterprise, and by judiciously fostering these tendencies, we may restore American commerce to the relative rank it had but one generation ago—which would, of course, have a far greater absolute value. But if we let this opportunity go by, and our people definitively settle down to have other nations do our carrying trade for us, the time is not far distant when no solicitude and no governmental expedients can restore the commerce of a people who have completely lost the sailor's temper and

<sup>1</sup> Statesman's Year-Book, 1898.



the sailor's skill. This period of naval glory and possible expansion may be the opening of a new era of maritime prosperity that shall at least double our industrial resources and profits for all coming time.

## V.

### TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG.

Coaling-Stations a Necessity for Modern Commerce—Relative Tonnage under Steam and Sail in British Merchant Marine—Dewey at Hong-kong, 7,000 Miles from a Base—Coaling-Stations More Costly to Defend than Extended Territory—The Flag Protects Trade—The Merchant Knows and Trusts the Laws of His Own Nation—Incident of the Stage Robbery in Mexico—Patriotic Interest in Our Own Possessions—Assimilation of Dependencies to the Ruling State and Demand for Its Products—Commerce of India with the United Kingdom—The Language of the Dominant State Prevails in Its Dependencies—Governmental Control of Trade—"The Open Door"—Trade of British and Dutch Possessions—France and Algeria—Distant Possessions Will Revive American Commerce.

THE commerce which our republic needs for its highest prosperity, and by which alone it can worthily utilize its natural resources, with the navy needed to guard that commerce, will demand coaling-stations at the ends of the earth. In the old days of sailing-vessels, the motive power could not be stored up, and when one ship had

a fair wind, the same wind was equally available for any other ship in the same locality, and bound in the same direction. The rapid advance of steam navigation has changed all this. How important this change is, appears from the fact that in the British merchant marine in 1896 the total tonnage of sailing-vessels was 2,618,067, while the total tonnage of steam-vessels was 6,315,273; the tonnage of sailing-vessels engaged in the foreign trade was 2,144,235, while the tonnage of steam-vessels engaged in the foreign trade was 5,661,572. That is to say, of the entire tonnage of the British merchant marine more than 70 per cent. was in steam-vessels; while of the tonnage in the foreign trade exclusively, more than 72 per cent. was in steam-vessels. In 1897, the United States had 13,904 sailing-vessels, with a tonnage of 1,904,153; and 6,599 steam-vessels, with a tonnage of 2,358,557. In both countries the number and tonnage of sailing-vessels had decreased, while the number and tonnage of steam-vessels had increased from those of the preceding year. It is evident that steam is, at no distant day, to dominate the carrying trade of the world. In the navies of all nations this is already an accomplished fact. The armed sailing-ship is as obsolete as the mediæval galley, and even the defense of rivers, lakes,

and shallow bays is entrusted to armed tugs or light-draft gunboats propelled by steam. But steam requires coal. A steamship without coal can not even defend herself against winds, waves, and currents, and if in that condition she were to meet a hostile ship with bunkers full, it would be as if it had been possible for an old-time sailing-vessel to lie becalmed,—or, let us say, dismasted,—while her enemy had all her sails bulging with a trade-wind.

At the outbreak of our war with Spain, but for the fact that the Philippines were hostile territory, which he could invade, Admiral Dewey would have had to flee from the Eastern seas, with no place to rest short of Honolulu, and no right to coal for fighting purposes even there, since Hawaii was then independent and neutral territory, and by the law of nations a neutral state may furnish a belligerent ship only so much coal as may enable her to reach the nearest home port. Our fleet would have had to steam all the way to San Francisco, a distance of 7,000 miles, before it could obtain a full supply of coal and other necessities for an extended cruise and possible battle. Even then it could have gone only part of the distance that its coal supply would carry it on the Pacific, for it must reserve enough to enable it to return. The expedient of sending

unarmed colliers with a fleet, for coaling at sea, would not be tried in the face of any enemy that possessed a strong and effective navy. Our ability to maintain a fleet in the Orient thus depended on the accident that Spain held the Philippines within striking distance of Hongkong, and that we were able to capture them. We can not base our future policy on the law of accidents. We can not resign all place and position in the far Pacific, and all power to protect our ships and citizens there. We must have coaling-stations, with ample outfit of naval stores and ammunition, absolutely under our own control, and accessible to our fleets beyond a peradventure.

But the maintenance of mere coaling-stations would prove as costly, and would require as large a naval force as the maintenance of extended territory; for the coaling-station, merely as such, is an exotic on the foreign shore, and must be constantly sustained by supplies sent from or purchased by the home land. Its normal revenue will be insignificant. Yet in time of war it must be desperately defended, both to preserve supplies for the nation that holds it, and—what is not less important—to prevent the enemy from capturing those very supplies and using them against the original possessor. If Russia had

obtained Port Arthur only, with no rights over the contiguous territory, she could not have hoped to maintain it for any considerable time against a determined attack by Great Britain, with her irresistible supremacy at sea. If the United States had only a coaling-station on the Hawaiian Islands, while scattered over the group were coaling-stations of other great powers, it would require a mightier fleet to defend that single station than will now be required to defend the whole group. In the former case, an outbreak of war might find a hostile fleet on the spot, coaled, provisioned, equipped, and ready to strike—or even two or more such fleets combined, having only to sail out from their respective stations. Now, in the event of war, any hostile fleet must sail at the very least 2,000 miles—the distance of Germany's Marshall Islands—and arrive on the scene very ill-prepared to meet an American fleet sailing out fresh from Honolulu. The whole group of islands is thus more defensible than a single port. As regards expense, while the maintenance of the mere coaling-station would be chiefly outlay, the public revenue to be derived from this rich Pacific cluster, and the private gains that will be secured by our citizens, who will reside on the islands or trade with them now that they have become ter-



ritory of the United States, will make the outlay for their defense seem insignificant.

The maxim that "Trade follows the flag" expresses, in the main, substantial truth. There may be extensive and valuable trade with lands altogether foreign, but it will be nowhere so free, direct, and natural for the citizens of any nation as with that nation's own possessions.

For this the flag itself is a prominent reason. It assures protection—and protection of a kind that the citizen understands. To a citizen of one nation, the laws of another are always more or less of a mystery. He has not grown up in touch with them from childhood, so as to know instinctively their chief demands and limitations—by which means it comes to pass that the majority of an orderly community keep the law without knowing very definitely what it is, only a very small percentage of the population ever looking into a statute-book or appearing in a court-room. But the moment a person attempts to conduct any business on foreign soil, he encounters legal perplexities that keep him constantly consulting, inquiring, and more or less in doubt as to his legal rights and duties. Even when he knows the law, he does not have assurance that he, as a foreigner, will gain the full benefit of its administration, without prejudice or invidious dis-

tinctions. This is especially the case where citizens of the leading nations deal with people of an inferior civilization. To the Englishman or the American, the decisions of a Turkish or Chinese court, for instance, are utterly inscrutable and incalculable.

It is related that in Mexico, before the advent of railroads, a party of American bank-officers fought off a band of robbers, who attempted to stop the stage, just outside the capital. Facts in their possession left no doubt that certain residents of the city were in collusion with the robbers, and had furnished them information of the intended movement of treasure. But, on consultation, they decided to make no complaint, because they were advised that the evidence they had to offer would not be considered in a Mexican court, *while they themselves might be proceeded against for killing Mexican citizens whom they could not prove to be robbers, because they had not given them a chance to steal anything.*

Capital, which is proverbially timid, keeps away from such legal complications and uncertainties, and the enterprise which might dare them can win better reward in other fields. The appeal to the consul of one's own nation is an inadequate resource, involving, at the very best, vexatious delay. But in a dependency where the

law, the courts, and all the officials, high and low, are of his own nation, the merchant knows his ground. The mere fact of his citizenship assures him instant consideration wherever he appears. He can plan and deal with confident assurance—and confidence is the life of trade.

The element of personal and patriotic interest also counts for very much. As soon as any territory comes into possession of his own country, the citizen at once begins to inquire what are its products and possibilities. What can we export to them or import from them? All its possibilities come under review, not only in the matters of food, clothing, minerals, and manufactures, but of books, newspapers, and education. Already farseeing American educators are planning to start American schools of high grade in Cuba and Porto Rico, while every branch of trade is studying how its interests may be advanced in the new lands. No such interest would have been developed if those lands had continued Spanish, or if they had passed into the possession of England or Germany. Again, the ruling class in any dependency naturally bring with them the habits and ideals of their own nation. In the construction and furnishing of their houses, the materials for their clothing, and the provision for their tables, and in a thousand other matters, they fol-

low the style of their own country as closely as climatic and other conditions allow, and naturally import the means of so doing from their own land. The resident traders, the missionaries, teachers, scientists, explorers, and tourists of the dominant nation all foster the same tendency. The natives of the dependency, if treated with any degree of consideration, become ambitious to copy the ruling class, whereby the demand for the products of the dominant nation is continually increased. Thus India, where British ascendancy has become so absolute, imports from the United Kingdom produce and manufactures amounting in value (in 1897) to \$252,085,000—an amount greater by many millions than is sent from the United Kingdom to any other country. While the total exports of the United Kingdom, in 1896, were \$1,200,725,000 (£240,-145,551), the exports to all the British possessions were \$420,585,000 (£84,136,937), or more than one third of the grand total; in other words, all the rest of the world put together appropriated less than twice the amount of British products taken by the British possessions alone.

Language is also an important factor in the development of trade. The language of the ruling nation soon becomes the prevalent one in the dependency, and trade moves most freely

and naturally along the lines of a common speech.

Direct governmental control of trade may become an important factor in dealings with dependencies. It seems probable that this will become less with lapse of time. It has been demonstrated that a narrow proscriptive policy, such as Spain has so long pursued in her colonies in the attempt to secure to the dominant nation all the trade of a dependency, paralyzes and destroys its commerce, so that there is little or no profit even for the governing power. The effect of the present coasting and tariff laws of the United States is thus stated by Mr. L. A. Thurston in his admirable and lucid monograph on the annexation of Hawaii<sup>1</sup>:

"After annexation, all exports and imports to and from the United States will have to be carried in American vessels; for, being American territory, the coasting trade laws will apply, and freight and passengers can be carried between Hawaii and other parts of the United States in American vessels only.

"As the American tariff will bar out almost all imports from foreign countries, practically the whole freighting business of Hawaii will be with the United States, and will be transacted by American vessels."

The same rules will apply to Porto Rico, which has already become American territory. Cuba,

<sup>1</sup> "A Handbook on the Annexation of Hawaii," by Lorrin A. Thurston, pp. 16-17.

of which the United States does not assume the sovereignty, will not be subject to such conditions, unless at some future time the inhabitants should voluntarily seek and secure annexation; but the Philippines, and at least one of the Ladrões, would naturally be subject to the same provisions. Whether these laws can be in any respect relaxed or modified for any territory of the United States is a debatable question. It is the opinion of Attorney-General Griggs that Congress will have ample power to make such regulations for our new dependencies as it may deem expedient, and may exempt them from the general operation of our tariff and navigation laws, especially if such exemption is provided for in the treaty under which they are received.

Great Britain, whose cordial sympathy has been worth so much to our country in the recent war, advocates and practises the policy of the "open door," allowing the competition of all nations for the trade of the colonies on equal terms. If by the adoption of such a system in the Philippines the United States could secure the advantages of the "open door" in those parts of China now or soon to be under the practical control of the various European powers, Russia, England, Germany, and France, there could be no doubt that the commercial advan-



tages of such a policy would exceed those of any exclusive restrictions applied to the Philippines. Cordial relations with Great Britain alone, opening to us the trade of India and a considerable part of China, would be of no small advantage. All that we want of China is a chance to trade with its 400,000,000 people. We do not want its territory, the control of its population, or a share in its inscrutable politics. If giving the "open door" in the Orient will help us to get it there, as it doubtless will, that is the desirable policy for us.

As regards our own dependencies, the best of all policies is to make them rich and prosperous and then trade with them. Even on the most selfish and materialistic grounds, such a policy is incalculably more profitable than fencing them in by monopolies, and then taxing their poverty.

The opening of the markets of a dependency to all nations still, as a rule, leaves the ruling nation dominant in trade. Thus in the British and Dutch colonies no protective tariff operates, tho the British Government retains various monopolies, as of salt and opium, and the Dutch of coffee. Yet most of the trade of British Borneo is carried on through Singapore with Great Britain. Of Hongkong, Great Britain absorbs about one half of the total imports and exports.

Of the total exports of India in 1896-97, valued at \$544,605,000,<sup>1</sup> the exports to the United Kingdom were valued at \$158,230,000; of total imports into India valued at \$445,940,000, the imports from the United Kingdom were valued at \$252,085,000. That is, nearly one-third of the exports from India went to the United Kingdom, and nearly three-fifths of the imports into India were from the United Kingdom. The imports to the Cape of Good Hope in 1897 were valued as follows: from the United Kingdom, £9,203,317; from the British possessions, £667,475; from foreign countries, £1,494,044; that is, the Cape Colony imported from the United Kingdom and the British possessions more than seven times as much as from all foreign countries. The exports of the Cape of Good Hope in the same year were: to the United Kingdom, £12,401,227; to the British possessions, £62,865; to foreign countries, £492,462; the colony exporting more than twenty-five times as much to the United Kingdom and the British possessions as to all foreign countries. The trade of Australia conforms to the same law; New South Wales imported from the United Kingdom, in 1896, goods valued at £7,190,115; from British possessions, £10,185,024; from the United States, £1,729,871, and

<sup>1</sup> Tens of rupees, equal approximately to £1 or \$5.

from all other foreign countries only £1,456,500; exported to the United Kingdom, £8,375,883; to British possessions, £8,895,154; to the United States, £2,064,964, and to all other foreign countries, £3,674,348. Victoria, in the same year (1896) imported from the United Kingdom and British possessions goods to the value of £12,894,229, and from all foreign countries, £1,311,043; exported to British countries, £12,395,870, and to all foreign countries, £1,802,648.

Turning to the Dutch East Indian possessions, we find that of exports valued in 1895 at 225,087,810 guilders, or \$90,035,124, nearly four fifths go to the Netherlands. The imports to the United Kingdom from Java (chiefly unrefined sugar) amounted to only £746,233 (\$3,610,768), and the exports from the United Kingdom to Java (chiefly manufactured cotton) amounted to £1,891,543 (\$9,155,068), out of a total received by the colony of £13,460,858 (\$65,150,552). The exports of the Netherlands to the colony in the same year amounted to £4,400,000 (\$21,296,000).

In like manner, Algeria, in 1894, imported from France goods to the value of 217,801,953 francs, and from all other countries, 57,997,003 francs; exported to France, 203,779,613 francs, and to all other countries only 43,630,129 francs.

From such facts the inference would seem to be irresistible that possession of extraneous territory by any nation gives a great stimulus to trade between such territory and the nation possessing it. It may be that one reason why the foreign commerce of the United States has so steadily declined is, that as a nation we have owned no territory outside the rim of the continent. The great and rapid development of our home commerce on both oceans, on the Gulf, and on the Great Lakes, points in the same direction.

Wherever it is desirable for us to have a foothold in distant lands,—and some such footholds we must have,—it is desirable for us to have territory extensive enough to stimulate and rich enough to develop commerce, that great agency of national wealth, vigor, and power. When Stanley, as an American explorer, sustained by an American capitalist, discovered the Kongo, it would have been a grand thing for our own future, and for the future of the Dark Continent, if the traditional policy of the United States had left us free to add what will be so rich a territory to our own domain, so that it should not have been necessary for him to seek out the king of Belgium to make him the titular head of the Kongo Free State. American enterprise would have developed the country as Belgian influence never will

do. American institutions and ideas would have taken root there from the outset, the English would have become the ruling language, and behind every commercial or governmental undertaking would have been a nation rich, populous, and powerful enough to give it assured success. Now, as England moves from north and south, to open an imperial highway through the center of the continent, we should be in a position to join hands with a kindred race, to have the Kongo answer the Nile in the English speech, and English and American enterprise stimulate and aid each other from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and to the Cape of Good Hope. The two freedom-loving nations, thus united, could have speedily fulfilled Livingstone's prayer to abolish slavery from Africa, and "heal that open sore of the world."

We were perhaps then too much occupied with our own cares and struggles to be able to assume new responsibilities; but now, a strong, rich, and at last a thoroughly united people, we should do ill to refuse the call of opportunity that summons us to reach out afar and open paths of enterprise, industry, and prosperous commerce, to which our increasing population may have access from every seaport of our continental domain. A commerce that should be to our population what England's is to hers would give us a total of imports and

exports amounting to \$6,500,000,000, in place of our present aggregate of \$1,800,000,000, or an increase of 260 per cent.—while more than 400,000 seamen would be employed in the vast carrying trade.



## VI.

### THE IMPERIAL LANGUAGE.

**The Sweep of British Possessions Around the World—Great Britain Holds Almost Every Strategic Point on the Globe—Domain of the United States—English the Dominant Language of More Than 450,000,000 Human Beings—Extent and Power of the Language Beyond Territorial Bounds—George P. Marsh on Extent and Power of the English Speech—Influence of Language in Favor of Liberty, Law, and Worship—The “Anglo-American Alliance.”**

MARVELOUS vistas open before the mind as we trace the dominion of the English speech. It is a matter of exceeding interest to follow its conquests on a map of the world. Starting from its native soil of England, it has come to dominate all the British isles. Scotland, once fenced off from England by the Roman wall, and long in such heroic and desperate conflict with the southern race, now united through the common blood of the royal line, is as loyal to the Government of Britain as ever to that of Bruce or Wallace. Ireland, tho yet chafing under what remains of

the shackles of ancient conquest, and Wales retaining stubbornly its provincial speech among the common people, yet are becoming more and more closely welded as parts of the United Kingdom. On every battle-field, and in every conquest where British arms have been arrayed in recent times, men from all the soil of the British Isles have fought side by side with equal courage, patriotism, and self-devotion. As our own poet, Bayard Taylor, has pictured a scene in the Crimean war:

“They lay along the battery-side,  
Beside the smoking cannon,  
Brave men from Severn, and from Clyde,  
And from the banks of Shannon.”

Passing southward, Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, holds the English flag and speech as firmly as its own rocky cliffs. Proceeding down the Mediterranean, we find Malta and Cyprus, Alexandria, Port Saïd, Suez with its canal, and now all Egypt, from the Delta beyond the cataracts of the Nile, under British control. Sailing down the Red Sea from Suez, the traveler finds the Island of Perim, at its entrance, a British post, while just beyond Britain holds Aden on the south coast of Arabia, and British Somaliland on the northwest coast of Africa, thus commanding both sides of the Gulf of Aden at the

gateway of the Arabian Sea. Southward, on the western shore of the Indian Ocean, is British East Africa, reaching inland beyond the Victoria Nyanza, and northward till it almost touches the recent British conquest of Omdurman, with which it will yet be joined. In the Persian Gulf, the Bahrein Islands and the nominally independent state of Oman are under British control. Eastward is the whole vast sweep of British India, reaching from Ceylon northward beyond the Himalayas, shutting in the whole Bay of Bengal, while through the Straits Settlements Britain controls the whole Malayan peninsula down to Singapore, just across from Sumatra, and reaches the Gulf of Siam and the China Sea. All northern Borneo, the eastern portion of New Guinea, the vast island continent of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand, with smaller islands here and there, are British territory. On the coast of China Britain holds Hongkong, and farther north has now added Wei-hai-Wei. The Gilbert, Ellice, and Fiji islands are British, while Britain, jointly with the United States and Germany, has a foothold in Samoa, where the two English-speaking powers are thus conjoined.

Turning back westward in the ocean, five hundred miles east of Madagascar, we pass Mauritius, once the Isle of France, now, with its dependen-

cies, a British possession, and find that Britain holds the Cape of Good Hope and all the adjacent region, with protectorates and spheres of influence reaching northward, almost to touch the British possessions that stretch southward from the Mediterranean, while along the western coast of the Dark Continent are the Niger territories, commanding the mouth of that great river, and the colonies of the Gold Coast, Lagos, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, with Ascension Island and St. Helena, Napoleon's prison, far off the coast. Of all these lands, English is the dominant speech—the language of government and of trade, and some day to be the language of all the people.

In the Western Hemisphere, the British empire includes the vast region of British North America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Arctic Ocean; the islands of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Jamaica, the Leeward and Windward islands, and Trinidad, carrying the line of British possessions down to touch the South American coast. On the mainland of Central America is British Honduras, and in South America, British Guiana, while far to the southward, near Cape Horn, Great Britain holds the Falkland Islands, thus in the vast sweep of her dominion commanding almost every

strategic spot on the face of the earth—Hawaii being, perhaps, the only important exception. The area of the British possessions that thus belt and stud the globe is upward of 11,000,000 square miles, and the population more than 380,000,000.

Beside the British empire now arises another world-power, using the same language, inheriting the same literature, proud of the same history, cherishing kindred ideals of civil and religious liberty, equal justice, and stable government, heartily, mightily, and now, thank God! amicably competing in the same pursuits of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce,—the United States.

Stretching along the whole southern border of British America from sea to sea, divided for most of the distance only by an imaginary line from the still British possessions, and reaching southward to Mexico and the gulf—that great inland sea—our republic holds the fairest portion of the hemisphere, and with Great Britain preempts almost the whole of the North American continent for the English speech. Now, the beautiful island of Porto Rico, “the healthiest of the Antilles,” falls into our hands by the fortune of war, and by that right which every nation has to secure and hold what is essential to its own security and integrity. Cuba is sure to come under

our flag. We shall keep our pledge, not with mere formality, but with resolute good faith. Cuba shall have the opportunity to form a stable and independent government of her own. When that is done, she shall be free of all constraint from us. But this is a day of the massing of humanity. A power is moving on the world, whose results no man yet presumes to forecast, everywhere massing all business in the hands of a few great corporations, and drawing the smaller communities and states within the boundaries of great dominions or federations. As sure as the tie that binds the planets to the sun will be the gravitation of free Cuba to the great Northern republic, whose portal she guards, and by whose sword her chains were hewn away. Hawaii, the key of the Pacific, by her own eager importunity has already become part of the territory of the United States. Across the Pacific, Admiral Dewey and the sturdy American sailors and soldiers have conquered for us a fair and rich island domain on the very threshold of that region where Occidental civilization and enterprise are flowing in, like an incoming tide, somehow to conquer and transform Oriental stagnation.

East and West, for us, are almost ceasing to have a meaning. The westward reach of the United States almost meets the eastward reach of the



United Kingdom; Manila, facing Hongkong, is separated by less than seven hundred miles, or two days' sail of merchant-steamer or battle-ship. The English speech takes another lap around the globe, and English-speaking Americans meet their kindred nation on the shores of the China Sea, in close touch with all the English-speaking colonies of Australasia, and almost at the gates of British India. The United States will thus add to the domain of the English language more than 3,500,000 square miles of territory, and more than 72,000,000 of people. The English thus becomes the dominant language of nearly 15,000,000 square miles of the earth's surface, containing a population of more than 450,000,000.

But such a territorial summary does not adequately state the reach and power of this world-embracing speech. The English literature has a commanding power independent of national or governmental limits. Scholars of every nation—French, German, Spanish, Russian, Italian, Chinese, or Japanese—are ambitious, and numbers of them are able to read Shakespeare and Milton without a translation. In every great capital the English or American scholar or statesman may converse in his own language with cultured foreigners, who speak it with fluency and accuracy. British and American commerce and arms, manu-

factures and inventions, are carrying their common language far beyond the bounds of their territorial possessions. The wealth of the two great nations is incidentally helping in the same work. The thousands of British and American tourists, whose custom is everywhere eagerly sought, are making the English language at home in every seaport, and in every center of artistic or scenic attraction. The English or American traveler may journey around the world, staying at so-called "English" hotels in every important place, be addressed in his own tongue by native guides in the cathedrals of Cologne or Nôtre Dame or Milan, in the galleries of the Louvre, the Pitti, or the Vatican, in the Coliseum or the Acropolis or at the base of the Pyramids, find everywhere an English-speaking banker, and from his departure to his return speak no language but his own.

Such a linguistic current once started is incalculable and illimitable in power and expansion, gaining velocity, volume, and momentum with every step of its onward motion, and not to be wholly stayed even by the hopeless decline of the nations that have given it birth. The Roman empire fell fifteen hundred years ago, but Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy still speak a varied Latin, while the Latin derivatives form an important part of our own English speech, giving it a

range and flexibility which it could never have otherwise attained. For every thinker and worker to whom the English language is a vernacular such considerations open a vast and wonderful outlook. In the words of that eminent American scholar, George Perkins Marsh:

“The English language is spoken by greater numbers than any other Christian speech, and it is remarkable that while some contemporaneous dialects and races are decaying and gradually disappearing from their natal soil, the English speech and the descendants of those who first employed it are making hourly conquests of new territory, and have already established their posts within hailing distance throughout the circuit of the habitable globe. The English language is the special organ of all the great world-wide charities which so honorably distinguish the present from all preceding ages. With little of the speculative universal philanthropy which has been so loudly preached and so little practised elsewhere, the English people have been foremost in every scheme of active benevolence, and they have been worthily seconded by their American brethren. The English Bible has been scattered by hundreds of millions over the face of the earth, and English-speaking missionaries have planted their maternal dialect at scores of important points, to which, had not their courageous and self-devoting energy paved the way, not even the enterprise of trade could have opened a path. Hence, English is emphatically the language of commerce, of civilization, of social and religious freedom, of progressive intelligence, and of active, catholic philanthropy; and therefore, beyond any tongue ever used by man, it is of right the cosmopolite speech. . . .

“Tho English will not supersede, much less extirpate, the thousand languages now spoken, it is not unreasonable

to expect for it a wider diffusion, a more commanding influence, a more universally acknowledged beneficent action, than has yet been reached, or can hereafter be acquired, by any ancient or now-existent tongue, and we may hope that the great names which adorn it will enjoy a wider and more durable renown than any others of the sons of men."

We talk so freely of "destiny" that the word has almost ceased to have a meaning; but is there not in a true, high sense an intimation of destiny here? Is there not in this vast linguistic force an irresistible trend, an assurance of advance and conquest, that must have real and enduring results among all nations for ages to come?

It must be remembered that language has its empire over the intellects and hearts of men. Language, by expressing thought, gives that thought power over other minds, while at the same time the spoken word reacts upon the speaker to intensify and crystallize his own thought and feeling. A historic language like our own carries a wealth of suggestion; the struggles and victories of centuries are in it. English has become preeminently the language of personal, social, civil, and religious liberty. By a subtle elimination, all the literature that upheld the divine right of kings, the duty of passive submission on the part of a people, the inherent supremacy of a nobility, the slaveholder's right

to make men his chattels to be bought and sold—all that has faded out of the recognition of the English-speaking peoples, till only scholars know where to find it. The very words that once expressed such conceptions have become archaic, or are used only in contempt or reprobation. The literature of freedom is full of life and vigor, and the words and forms of speech that tell freedom's story, live and ring on the lips and in the hearts of the English-speaking people. The English is also the language of administration, of established government, of reverence for law, and of the citizen's duty of obedience to lawful authority. The wild Jacobin idea of liberty finds no place in it. The spirit of the Marseillaise expires in an English translation. The English is also the language of thrifty, practical, constructive, effective life—of toiling, trading, inventing—of doing, and not of dreaming—and not only of doing, but of getting things done. By its adaptations from the Latin and Greek it becomes the ready vehicle of the highest and widest speculations of philosophy and science; and by its underlying bedrock of Saxon, it is the language of home and human love. Through the influence of that most perfect specimen of its purest and noblest diction—the English Bible—the language is full of reverence and worship of

that God who calls all mankind to an equal dignity, to be "sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty," and holds all to an equal responsibility to Him, "who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work."

The constant use of such a speech insensibly molds the thoughts and feelings of men toward lofty and true ideals, making them so far one in character that in America, where people of all races and nations are gathered, differences of origin are almost obliterated in a generation, and all come to have "the American face." The molding influence of this great engine of human thought, it is for us to extend among the nations as far as arts or arms, commerce or education may fittingly carry it, knowing that over multitudes of the hitherto undeveloped, perverted, or oppressed, the very language that is our inheritance will have a transforming influence.

It is largely this unity of language that is holding Britain's far-off colonies to their allegiance, as no armies or navies could do. It is this that is drawing Great Britain and our American republic into increasing amity, sympathy, and co-operation. In the words of Dr. Marsh:

*"Community of language is a stronger bond than identity of religion or of government, and contemporaneous nations of one speech, however formally separated by differences*



of creed or of political organization, are essentially one in culture, one in tendency, one in influence."

Largely from this source has sprung the demand for that natural alliance—the Anglo-American—on both sides of the sea. We are essentially one people, almost more united than divided by the Atlantic. The revolution that separated us politically was in line with those of Hampden and Cromwell and William of Orange on the soil of England; 1776 answers back to 1688, to 1641, ay, to 1215—the Declaration of Independence to the Bill of Rights and Magna Charta.

Our fathers sought, as Burke has said, "Not the rights of men, but the rights of Englishmen." They supposed they were fighting England, but they were not. They were fighting George the Third and Lord North, just as their ancestors fought Charles I. and the Earl of Strafford. The American colonists were fighting the battles of all Englishmen, and especially of all English colonies. The English people of to-day and the English colonies of to-day are debtors to the Americans of '76, and richer by their deeds. Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, are names that add to England's glory.

Now the bonds of race, of language, of the rich literature that is our common heritage, of the glorious history of which we all alike are proud,

of institutions daily becoming more and more closely assimilated, as both peoples seek to combine popular freedom with justice and stability, are drawing us together.

England's friendly offices in the recent war with Spain saved us from that pestilent invention, "the concert of Europe." We would have such friendship made perpetual, that in a like case we in turn would care for the right and honor of the kindred people.

We do not desire a political alliance that would require us to fight England's battles against the Boers of South Africa, against France at Fashoda, or, possibly, against Russia in central China, nor that would compel England to fight for our retention of Cuba, Hawaii, or the Philippines. But we would have a cordial commercial understanding with only such a degree of wholesome rivalry as exists between separate states of our own Union. We would have all disputes that may ever arise between the two nations settled by peaceful arbitration; we do desire that the United Kingdom and the United States should deeply feel that we have a united trust—to hold for the world and extend throughout the world all that English and American civilization have won through centuries of heroic struggle—and, if ever need should be, to maintain that trust against all the world.

It was our federal republic that bore Tennyson's prophetic vision onward

"Till the war-drum throbbed no longer,  
And the battle-flags were furled,  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world. "

Great Britain and the United States, cordially united in moral alliance, can do more than any other force to make the grand vision fact.





Engraved for "THE IMPERIAL REPUBLIC"

## COMPARATIVE MAP OF THE ATL

The heavy black line bordering the Pacific is repeated in red over the A





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ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC AREAS.

and adjacent lands, San Francisco taking the place of Hongkong.





## VII.

### THE HIGHWAY TO THE ORIENT.

**The Mediterranean Once "The Great Sea"—Columbus Sought the Indies by Way of the Atlantic—America Lost the Ideal, Preoccupied with Its Own Development—England Never Gave Up the Quest—Dewey's Victory Fulfils the Dream of Columbus—The Pacific "The Great Sea"—Atlantic and Pacific Distances Compared—Overland Passage to Oregon in 1845 Compared with Voyage to Manila Now—President McGee on Shortening Pacific Voyages—The Interoceanic Canal—The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty—Can the United States Build the Canal?—How Far Can We Guarantee Neutrality?—Commercial Advantages of the Canal.**

FOR unnumbered years the Mediterranean was "the Great Sea." On its shores occurred almost all the notable events of ancient history. Its surges resound through Hebrew psalm and prophecy, so that the people of all seafaring nations—"they that go down to the sea in ships and do business in great waters"—all such feel at home in the poetry of the Bible. Egypt, Greece, Carthage, Rome, rose, flourished, and decayed on the borders of that land-locked basin. In reference to the

jurisdiction of Pompey—who, on undertaking his expedition against the pirates, was invested with authority “over the Mediterranean and all the territory for fifty miles inland along its shores”—it has been fittingly observed that the whole Roman empire was little more than such a tract. Still fifteen hundred years elapsed, and all the conflicts of the Middle Ages passed before one man, opposed and derided, had the sublime courage to sail far out into the seemingly limitless Atlantic. Columbus, under what he believed to be Divine inspiration, sought the Orient by way of the Western sea. Who shall say that he was not inspired? He found this continent in the way. It has taken his successors four hundred years to get across. In the view of Him with whom “a thousand years are as one day,” the lapse of a few centuries does not vitiate the inspiration, nor even indicate a pause in the fulfilment of the Divine purpose.

Europe was not ready to meet the Orient. Men like Cortes and Pizarro, and the buccaneers of all nations, who so long fought each other in “the Spanish main,” had no blessings to carry to India, China, and Japan.<sup>1</sup> The continent of America

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese and Japanese seclusion laws originated, indeed, with the passage around the Cape of Good Hope of Vasco da Gama, with those whom the Chinese very ap-

was heaved across their path. Where it was narrowest, at the isthmus, it was piled so high as to bid defiance to ancient engineering. On this continental barrier a nation grew up—grew rich, populous, and mighty, and took the continent for a world. We did not propose to step off from either edge. All blessing was to begin at Cape Cod or Sandy Hook, and end at the Golden Gate. In the tariff controversies, there were men who urged it as an argument in favor of a high protective tariff that it would shut us off from all dealings with other nations. We have here, they said, practically every variety of climate; we can raise or manufacture everything we need; we can keep clear of all competition and of all association with European nations; so we can keep our race, our institutions, and our language pure, wages high, and our people prosperous. The silver men argued in a similar strain. If foreign nations would not take our silver money, very well, let us not trade with them; our country was so vast and our population so numerous that we could satisfy every human want by trading with ourselves, and paying ourselves in our own unexchangeable currency.

appropriately called "red-haired barbarians" who followed in his train. See Dr. W. A. P. Martin's "Cycle of Cathay," chap. i., p. 19.

There had not been wanting in the earlier days of the republic men who took broader views. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View,"<sup>1</sup> states that Jefferson, before the discovery of the Columbia River, had come to believe such a river must exist to drain the watershed of the Rocky Mountains opposite to that drained by the Missouri. For that purpose he arranged to send the celebrated African explorer Ledyard from Paris through Russia to find the mouth of the Western river on our Pacific coast, follow it to its source, cross the Rocky Mountains and descend the Missouri to the settled parts of the United States. Ledyard started upon the journey and had reached Siberia, when he was arrested and sent out of the country as a spy. Mr. Benton says:

"Mr. Jefferson was balked in that, his first attempt to establish the existence of the Columbia River. But a time was coming for him to undertake it under better auspices. He became President of the United States, and in that character projected the expedition of Lewis and Clark, and sent them forth to discover the head and course of the Columbia River (whose mouth was then known), for the double purpose of *opening an inland commercial communication with Asia*, and enlarging the boundaries of geographical science. The commercial object was placed first in his message, and as the object to legitimate the expe-

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<sup>1</sup> "Thirty Years' View, or a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years (1820-50)." By Senator Thomas H. Benton, vol. i., pp. 13-15.

dition. And thus Mr. Jefferson was the first to propose the North American road to India, and the introduction of Asiatic trade by that road."

Before the thoughts of great men the barriers of mountain and ocean disappear; and the events of after-times justify their prescience and fulfil their prophetic visions.

Mr. Jefferson's ultimate designs were of the vastest. He wrote from Paris to Archibald Stuart on January 25, 1786:

"Our present Federal limits are not too large for good government. Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest from which all America, North and South, is to be peopled."

Mr. Benton himself said, when the question of the settlement of Oregon first came up in Congress in 1820-21:

"Upon the people of Eastern Asia the establishment of a civilized power on the opposite coast of America could not fail to produce great and wonderful benefits. Science, liberal principles in government, and the true religion might cast their lights across the intervening sea."

In the long struggle for self-development we had forgotten all this. But, as a recent writer<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, England never lost the early ideal of a route to the Indies across the American

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Lindley M. Keasbey, in an article on "The Nicaragua Canal," *Review of Reviews*, November, 1898.



continent; after the United States became independent—

“England continued to parallel our course to the west. . . . But the immediate motive impelling the two powers toward the Pacific was not the same. Great Britain was pushing out through Canada to effect a westerly junction with her Oriental outposts, while the United States was simply extending her Western frontier to provide free space for her rapidly increasing population. . . . Thus while England’s advance across America constitutes but an important incident in her world career, the extension of our own frontier toward the Pacific epitomizes, up to the present, our entire history.”

But “our entire history” was not always to be thus limited. Just as we had become completely absorbed in our own needs and cares, there were borne to our ears the moans of starving Cuba. The misgovernment which we had long known to exist was at once sharply accentuated and made manifest, while the destruction of our battle-ship turned every eye in America toward the Cuban shore, and made every ear quick to hear the cries of the oppressed in the land beneath whose dark waters our own dead had gone down.

Striking, with sound policy, wherever our enemy could be struck, the first act of the war gave us the victory of Manila. Then suddenly our eyes were opened to the wideness of the world and the possibilities of far-off lands. It is the most signal proof of our previous isolation that

this knowledge came to us as a revelation and a surprise. We became suddenly conscious that American genius, courage, and valor were as effective in the China sea as in the Caribbean. We saw that the world is all one place. The right men have only to be true to themselves, and differences of longitude and latitude matter little. Then arose the question, Are not the demands of liberty and humanity the same all round the globe? It was practically as easy for us to intervene in Luzon as in Cuba. The thing was actually done. Our victorious flag was there. Could we take the responsibility of withdrawing and leaving the people of the Orient under an oppression which we would not tolerate just off our own shores?

Almost at the same moment came the renewed appeal of Hawaii, largely colonized by our own sons. We saw that we must take the little island republic under our protection, or allow it to be absorbed by some other power, with the knowledge that that power, whichever it might be, would thereafter dominate our whole Pacific coast. The American flag was flung to the breeze in Honolulu, to greet the flag at Manila, and the dream of Columbus was fulfilled; across the western ocean had been found a way to the morning land.

It is this goal of the nations, then, toward which statesmen have been reaching out for ages,

on which, in the sudden exigence of battle, the American republic has set her conquering foot. And there are those who would flee from the advanced position, give it away, throw it away—even sell it—do anything to escape the bigness of the responsibility.

But do or say what we will, the responsibility has come. The forward movement is fully under way. The Atlantic is already receding, like the Mediterranean, and the Pacific has become “The Great Sea.” What was once deemed the vast distance between America and England is now easily traversed in six days, and Americans take a run through England and Scotland, or France and Switzerland as an easy holiday excursion. Adventure seeks, and trade demands, new worlds to conquer. One of the great world-movements of history is taking place before our eyes. All the chief nations of Europe are descending upon the shores of the Pacific.

That ocean is wonderful in magnitude. If we draw a line around its chief boundaries, and then push that boundary line westward, placing Hongkong on San Francisco,<sup>1</sup> that boundary will then include the greater part of North and South America, the West Indies, the whole Atlantic, and on the farther shore the southern part of

<sup>1</sup> See map of the world prefacing this chapter.

Greenland and Iceland, the British Isles, most of France, all of Spain, and almost all of Africa, including Madagascar. The Pacific distances are vast beyond anything we are wont to consider: 7,000 miles from San Francisco to Hongkong—5,000 miles from San Francisco to Yokohama—7,600 miles from Yokohama to the entrance of the Nicaragua canal.

But in this era of steam navigation, these vast distances are not repellant. They are clear stretches of water highway without rock or shoal or strait to hinder the march of commerce. Compare with our easy voyages to and from Manila, the following account of the overland passage to Oregon in the middle of the present century, but little more than fifty years ago :

“In 1842, incited by numerous newspaper publications, upward of a thousand American emigrants went to the country [Oregon], making their long pilgrimage overland from the frontiers of Missouri, with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, their implements of husbandry and weapons of defense—traversing the vast inclined plain to the base of the Rocky Mountains, crossing that barrier (deemed impassable by Europeans), and descending the wide slope which declines from the mountains to the Pacific. *Six months would be consumed in this journey*, filled with hardships, beset by dangers from savage hostility, and only to be prosecuted in caravans of strength and determination.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Benton, “Thirty Years’ View,” vol. ii., p. 469.

President McGee, in the address already quoted,<sup>1</sup> has well said :

“The Philippines are remote—only a fraction so remote in time as was California a half-century ago, yet remote enough to compel the invention of devices for shortening time and annihilating space ; and the problem of bringing Manila within a fortnight of San Francisco is one worthy the genius of the inventors of the innumerable devices involved in steamboating, railroading, and telegraphing. Given swift vessels, the other problems presented by the Garden of the East are of little consequence save as forecasting directions for the profitable expenditure of long-pent energy ; the seven million pastoral natives and tax-gathering Spaniards are a far less menace to our quadrupled population and multiplied power than were the savage tribes and resident Mexicans of California ; while it is the special function of the republican form of government to render the inhabitants of acquired territory not only self-supporting but self-governing.”

Nor have we to consider a mere barren sweep of ocean. Great continents, rich and populous realms, form the shores of this mighty sea or are reached across its expanse.

The war with Spain has brought about a sudden, unanimous agreement among the American people as to the necessity of the interoceanic canal, to remove the last barrier between the Atlantic and the Pacific, so that seagoing vessels may pass from ocean to ocean in four days and a half.

<sup>1</sup> Page 35,

As to the construction of the canal, we must do, first of all, the right and honorable thing. We must not wring unreasonable concessions from weak Central American states by superior force. At the same time, we cannot forget that all humanity has sacred rights in the case of a strategic point like this. The millions on both sides the isthmus have the right of passage across. The neutrality of the canal must be guaranteed by some power strong enough to make its guaranty effectual. That power, whichever it be, must have substantial control of the waterway and the land immediately adjoining, for protection involves power and control.

According to the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, Great Britain and America are jointly to control the canal, and guarantee its neutrality.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The essential provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty are thus summarized by Mr. Benjamin Taylor (*Nineteenth Century*, October, 1898) :

"The preamble of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty states that the two countries are desirous of setting forth and fixing in a convention 'their views and intentions with reference to any means of communication by ship canal which may be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and either or both of the lakes of Nicaragua or Managua.' By the first article, it is agreed that neither contracting party shall ever obtain for itself any exclusive control over any ship canal, or erect or maintain fortifications in its vicinity, or 'occupy or fortify, or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the



Any violation of the spirit or letter of that treaty would not only be a moral wrong, and an act unworthy of the American people, but would be peculiarly unfortunate just at this time when so many things are drawing the two English-speaking nations into cordial harmony. We believe there is no disposition on the part of any of our people to take such a course. But the suggestion that Great Britain might be willing to recede from the agreement, and leave us to control and protect the canal of Nicaragua, as she does that of Suez, has certainly met a very hearty welcome on this side the ocean. It seems eminently

Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America, nor will either make use of any protection which either affords or may afford . . . for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America . . . nor will take advantage of any intimacy or use any alliance, connection, or influence that either may possess with any state or government through whose territory the said canal may pass for the purpose of acquiring or holding directly or indirectly, for the citizens or subjects of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other.' By the fifth article, both powers engage to protect the canal from interruption, seizure, or unjust confiscation, and to guarantee its neutrality, conditionally upon the management of the canal not making any unfair discriminations in favor of one or other of the contracting parties."

desirable, if it can be amicably and honorably arranged, that the canal should be made by the United States, and its neutrality be guaranteed by the United States, except as to nations that may at any time be at war with this country. It is not to be imagined that the United States could guarantee free passage through the isthmian canal for European war-vessels sailing to attack our own Pacific ports, any more than that England would open the Suez Canal for the passage of a French fleet sailing to attack Sydney or Hong-kong. If we were to make such a treaty, it would not survive a moment a declaration of war between the United States and another power. Any country that would guarantee such suicidal neutrality would be unworthy of a place in the family of nations. The United States desires to avoid war. Its policy is one of peace. We desire to have the interoceanic canal free, open, and neutral for all the world; but our peculiar situation with reference to it will oblige us to a certain necessary reservation for self-defense, that we may not virtually cut our own territory in two. At the same time, we wish to maintain the essence of the provision, as between England and the United States, not to "hold for the citizens or subjects of the one [country] any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the

said canal, which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other."

Professor Keasbey, in the article already referred to,<sup>1</sup> says:

"But the conditions have changed mightily since this diplomatic case was last compromised, and the new matter recently introduced may make a decision possible that will further the ultimate ends of both parties and do no violence to the spirit of their treaty obligations. For our part we have always desired a formal recognition of the Monroe doctrine from Great Britain, but to her mind our claim has not yet been sufficiently established to warrant such an avowal; and thus far, moreover, the United States has been in no position to offer a satisfactory *quid pro quo*. Our determination in the late struggle with Spain, followed by the success of our arms in the Caribbean and the Pacific, has gone far, however, toward confirming our uncertain title in the New World, and judging from her attitude of generous approval, Great Britain is apparently willing to admit the justice of our present demands. On the other hand, England now finds herself beset along the line of her Easterly advance by a strong coalition of Continental powers, and would no doubt be glad of American support in maintaining and extending her prestige in this direction. The present situation thus contains elements of an international bargain—to be formally framed or tacitly understood as future expediency may decide—and a new line of demarcation might now be drawn between the Anglo-Saxon powers, making the mother country practically invincible in the East, and leaving the management of Western affairs in the able hands of her American descendants.

"An agreement along these lines would indeed afford

<sup>1</sup> Page 106.

a happy solution of the existing diplomatic difficulty surrounding the political control of the transit route, for the considerably transcending the terms it would still preserve the tenor of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. One of the acknowledged purposes of this antiquated contract was to provide some scheme of Anglo-American cooperation; but its partnership provisions were too narrow, as they only applied to the West. If, however, the matter of the agreement were to be extended to include both lines of advance, the spirit of the convention might be retained with reasonable hope of practical realization; for England could then rest doubly assured of her ascendancy along the Easterly sea routes to the Indies, and the United States be allowed exclusive control of the Western gateway to the Pacific."

That such views meet no inconsiderable degree of favor in England appears from the fact that so influential a paper as the London *Spectator* advises the Government of Great Britain to propose to the Government of the United States the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the conclusion of a new treaty—

"by which England and America shall mutually bind themselves to allow no power except the United States of America to make or control any canal across the isthmus, and to declare that if and when the United States shall make such a canal it shall be open on equal terms to the ships of all nations at peace with the United States."

This is substantially what we desire. We wish the canal to be traversed by the commerce of all nations, in continual transit. We wish it to be—except for the necessary tolls—virtually as

free as the English Channel, where ships under every flag flash by one another like vehicles in a busy street, tho Great Britain would not allow any hostile armada to pass the Straits of Dover while she had a ship or a gun to defend the "narrow seas."

We desire peaceful commerce by which our own southern ports may grow rich and prosperous as the Gulf comes to be thronged with the shipping of the world. We wish our Pacific ports to have freer access to Europe than by the hauling of their goods across steep mountain grades by rail, and their transshipment at our Atlantic ports. We wish our Atlantic cities to have all the Pacific opened to their trade, so that New York shall be nearer to San Francisco, Honolulu, Yokohama, or Manila, by ten thousand miles, and nearer Valparaiso by five thousand miles.

If for a moment the new route shall divert trade to the disadvantage of any older way, yet the increasing riches which enlarged trade and fuller development of national resources will bring will speedily atone, and more than atone, for any such momentary loss. We believe that everything which tends to bring the richly producing West into closer touch with the densely peopled East, and opens up to increasing commerce the yet scarcely traversed Pacific, will be a world-

benefit in which every nation may be glad that every other nation should share, thus making the whole world richer and happier, with more good available for all the race. So we would cross the Isthmus—so we would sail out over the Pacific, till our westering star of empire mingles its light with the Oriental morning.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following tables, taken or compiled from Professor Keasbey's work on "The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine," are given in an article by Emory R. Johnson in *The Review of Reviews* for November, 1898 :

TABLE I.

Showing distances in statute miles from San Francisco to New Orleans, New York, and Liverpool by existing water-routes and by way of a Nicaraguan canal.

From San Francisco to—	Via Cape Horn.	Via Nicaragua Canal.	Distance Saved.
New Orleans .....	15,052	4,047	11,005
New York.....	14,840	4,760	10,080
Liverpool .....	14,690	7,508	7,182

TABLE II.

Illustrating distances from European and American Atlantic and Gulf ports to western South America via the Horn, the Straits, and the Nicaragua canal.

To Valparaiso via—	From Liverpool.	From New Or- leans.	From New York.
Cape Horn .....	9,380	9,962	9,750
Straits of Magellan.....	8,760	8,805	8,440
Nicaragua Canal.....	7,734	3,987	4,700



TABLE III.

Illustrating the advantage in distances which the Nicaragua canal will give American Gulf and Atlantic ports over European ports in the trade with western South America.

Between Valparaiso and—	DISTANCE SAVED.	
	Nicaragua vs. the Horn.	Nicaragua vs. Straits of Magellan.
Liverpool.....	1,646	1,026
New Orleans.....	5,708	4,551
New York.....	4,736	3,426

## VIII.

### THE EMPIRE OF THE PACIFIC.

**Vast Extent of Siberia—Its Rapid Settlement and Industrial Advance—The Trans-Siberian Railway—Mr. Bookwalter's Tour and Observations—American Locomotives and Cars on Siberian Railways—Central Asia soon to be the Greatest Market in the World for Manufacturers—New Towns Springing Up Everywhere, as in our own West—Undeveloped Wealth of China—Chinese Commercial Statistics and Possibilities—The United States as Importer from and Exporter to Japan—Why surpassed by England and Germany—Need of American Ships—Our Trade with India—French Indo-China—Siam—Hongkong—New Zealand Compared with the Philippines—Remarkable Prosperity of the British Colony Australia—South and Central America—Summary of the Statistics of the Pacific Shores—The Race of Occidental Nations for the Orient—What America Seeks in the Pacific Lands.**

WITH the Stars and Stripes flying over Honolulu and Manila, Americans will do well to take stock of the Pacific lands. Beginning in the north, forty-five miles beyond our own territory of Alaska, we find the area of Siberia to be

4,833,496 square miles, and its population in 1897 to be about 5,731,732. This population will be vastly increased as time goes on. In 1889, the marriages in Siberia numbered 23,481; in 1895, the births numbered 259,288; the deaths in the same year were 177,834; the excess of births over deaths was 81,454; the birth-rate was 51.2 per cent., and the death-rate only 35.4. Thus it will be seen that Siberia does not even now depend for population upon the shipment thither of political offenders, but is advancing with considerable rapidity by natural increase. In addition to this a system of emigration has been set in motion by the Russian Government that is destined to work a great and rapid change in this whole region. The following account of this great movement appeared in the *New York Sun*, December 16, 1898:

“The transfer of population from the more congested of the agricultural districts of European Russia to the country newly opened by the Trans-Siberian Railway goes on apace. The migration this year, it is said, will comprise some two hundred thousand families, who have been carried at exceptionally low rates, about \$1.50 for a thousand versts, or six hundred and seventy miles, with a large reduction for longer distances. Three to four emigrant trains a day have crossed the Ural Mountains into Siberia, and the same movement is expected to continue during the coming year. The migrants are described as just the class of people to develop the uninhabited wastes of central and

southern Siberia, whose climate is about the same as that on either side of the boundary between this country and Canada. They are a simple, hardy, and frugal people, and as the birth-rate among them is said to be phenomenally high, the building up of a purely Russian Slav population among the Tartar and Mongol tribes will go on rapidly; and at the same time the development of the resources of the country will afford the traffic required to prevent the railway becoming a burden on the national treasury."

In 1896 more than 8,000,000 acres of Siberian land were under cultivation. A great portion of the land not suitable for cultivation affords excellent pasture. Both agriculture and cattle-raising are limited by the exceedingly primitive methods employed. The gold product of Russia is obtained chiefly from Siberia, amounting in 1895 to 64,208 pounds; zinc, antimony, arsenic, plumbago, and valuable emerald and topaz mines are worked in the districts north of the Amur; the mineral resources of western Siberia are very great. Its present production and trade are but a suggestion of what the future will have to offer.

The exports of Russia through the Asiatic frontier in 1895 amounted to \$10,654,000<sup>1</sup>; the

<sup>1</sup> To simplify the statement and facilitate comparison, the various sums have been reduced to United States money, this being often only an approximation, as the fluctuating value of rouble, rupee, etc., makes absolute accuracy impossible. It has also seemed best to give only round numbers, dropping all below thousands.

imports to \$29,958,000. These statistics, as they include the whole Asiatic frontier of Russia, do not indicate the amount of trade that reached the Pacific ports; but it is stated that Vladivostok on the Pacific coast was visited by 171 vessels of 194,000 tons in 1895. With the possession of Port Arthur and the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway to that port, a greatly extended Pacific commerce will doubtless arise.

The opinions of a highly competent observer, who enjoyed unusual facilities for ascertaining the facts, are thus given in a despatch published in the New York *Herald*, December 23, 1898:

“LONDON, December 13.—John W. Bookwalter, of Ohio, who has just returned from a three months' journey through Russia, traveled seventeen thousand miles, to the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, to the end of the line reaching the frontier of Afghanistan and to the end of the one penetrating China through Manchuria. All these, he says, are now practically completed. Mr. Bookwalter was allowed to go everywhere and to take hundreds of photographs, thanks to special permits issued to him by the Minister of the Interior on the application of the United States Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

“‘America's best open door to Central Asia and China,’ said Mr. Bookwalter, ‘is through Russia. *Already all the locomotives and rolling-stock on the railways are of American manufacture. Central Asia will soon be the greatest market in the world for manufactures of all kinds, and our obtaining the virtual monopoly of this market only depends on our retaining the friendship Russia now has for us.*’

“A great surprise to the world is in preparation in that

part of the earth, and it will come, I believe, very soon. Not many years will elapse before the world will see Russia, England, and China combining for the partition of Asia. England and Russia will never be able to agree on a partition of China between themselves. Still less will they allow the other powers to share with them in the spoils of that empire. They will be forced to defend China, which alone is helpless, against the rest of the world and to share with her the dominions of Asia. The alliance of England, Russia, and China—of two-thirds of the human race—will be such an alliance as history has never yet seen, and it will be one which will give peace to the world for centuries.

“America has very little to gain by an open door to China. That country is an industrial one, and whatever we may now be able to sell to them the Chinese will soon be able to make for themselves. Soon whatever China buys from the rest of the world will reach her through Russia and Central Asia.

“Russia in the last three years has done more to open the doors of China than England and all the rest of the world has done in fifty years.

“I have traveled over twelve hundred miles of railway which Russia has built, from the Caspian Sea to Tashkend, in Turkestan, over a branch of this line which runs to the northern frontier of India; over another branch which goes from Merv to the border of Afghanistan. This last branch was not completed when I was there, but it will be open to traffic next week. There are also Russian lines all along the Persian frontier and penetrating into that country. All the work on these lines has been done by soldiers who, in this way, are not in Russia, as elsewhere, non-producers.

“All this tremendous Asiatic railway system is owned and operated by the Government. All the lines are admirably built and splendidly equipped. Why, I saw a bridge across the Amudaria, in Central Asia, at a point where the



river is three miles wide, that cost 20,000,000 roubles, and is the greatest piece of engineering work ever accomplished.

"Wherever I went I saw cities and towns springing up, such as Askobad, in Turkomania, for example, which already has twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Near Merv the Czar is building a magnificent palace. New Bokhara, twelve miles from old Bokhara, has twelve thousand inhabitants. The Russian policy in Central Asia is not to bring the new and the old into too close a contrast, and she builds her railway stations a few miles away from the old centers of population, thus forming new and entirely modern centers. Where do the people come from to inhabit these towns? Why, from European Russia. The Government is turning her surplus European population into Central Asia, just as the United States turned her surplus population of her Atlantic States into her great Western Territories. What I have just seen in Central Asia is almost an exact reproduction of what I witnessed years ago in Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, when the emigrants from the East were pouring into the West. No human power can stay the onward march of the Slav through Russia, which will be the feature of the twentieth century, just as the march of the Anglo-Saxon through America has been the feature of the nineteenth.

"Already, thanks to her railways, Russia can at any time pour her armies across the frontiers of India by the same routes that Alexander, Tamerlane, and Kubla Khan marched to the conquest of Eastern Asia. Russia to-day has twenty-five million reserves, all of whom have served in the army from three to five years. One fifth of her population has been drilled and disciplined to military work.

"The United States will be committing a woful mistake if she fails to retain the friendship of this great world power of the future."

Such is the sudden awakening of that vast area

of northern Asia—Siberia—which we have hitherto scarcely deemed a part of the habitable earth. It is not necessary to agree with all Mr. Bookwalter's conclusions in order to recognize the great value attaching to the results of his observation. As to the route of trade with Central Asia, it can scarcely be imagined that to points easily accessible from Pacific ports, American shippers would send goods across the Atlantic, through the English Channel and the stormy North Sea, around Denmark and Sweden, and up the Baltic to the often ice-bound harbor of Riga, and thence over nearly 7,000 miles of Russian railway, when we could avail ourselves of the cheaper transportation by water across the Pacific, and so far as railway is required, use our own Pacific railroads for less than half the distance, and across our own, instead of Russian, territory.

When we turn to consider the great empire of China, the mind is overwhelmed with the vastness of the theme—a territory of 4,218,401 square miles—a population of 400,000,000, or more than that inhabiting all Europe! The strongest statement regarding such a country is feeble; the fullest is still defective. The tea, silk, and porcelain of China are well known and world-famous. But it is not generally known that all of the eighteen provinces contain coal,

and that "China may be regarded as one of the first coal countries of the world."<sup>1</sup> There are also considerable stores of iron and copper waiting to be developed by modern methods of mining. Horticulture is a favorite pursuit, and fruits are abundant. Most of the cereals of our own land, besides rice, sugar, indigo, and cotton, are readily and largely produced. Cotton and silk factories have been started in Shanghai, Canton, and elsewhere; but we can not believe with Mr. Bookwalter that "whatever we may now sell to them the Chinese will soon be able to make for themselves." It is not to be expected that the Mongolian race will rival easily or soon the manufactures of the Occidentals, with their long heredity of mechanical adaptability. The Chinese had modern steam war-ships in the war with Japan, but the improved machinery proved useless because operated by Chinamen. England has held Hongkong since 1841, constantly sending British manufactures through that and other ports into the heart of China, but no Chinese manufactories have superseded the products of British artisans. We may be well assured that the Chinaman can not be made into a Briton or a Yankee within the twentieth century, and until that transformation shall take place, there will be

<sup>1</sup> "Statesman's Year-Book," 1898, p. 425.

in China an ample field for British and American trade, if there be but the "open door."

The commercial intercourse of China is chiefly with Great Britain and her colonies. In 1896, the total imports were \$202,590,000, and the total exports \$131,081,000. Of this amount the imports from the United Kingdom were \$44,751,000; from the United States \$11,930,000. The exports to Great Britain were \$11,282,000; to the United States \$11,124,000. Thus of two hundred millions of imports, the United States furnishes about one seventeenth; and of one hundred and thirty millions of exports, the United States receives less than one twelfth. It would seem that no American can feel that his country is adequately represented in this vast and rapidly increasing trade; and the way to reach and extend it is unquestionably across the great ocean highway of the Pacific.

It is interesting to note the chief articles of this extensive commerce, which are thus particularized:

Imports.		Exports.	
Opium.....	\$28,651,592	Tea.....	\$30,156,886
Cotton goods....	70,243,431	Silk, raw and	
Raw cotton.....	1,307,975	manufact'd..	42,089,335
Woolen goods....	5,363,143	Sugar.....	1,477,728
Metals.....	9,759,134	Straw braid...	3,907,242
Coal.....	3,539,804	Hides.....	1,826,281
Coal oil.....	9,083,321	Paper.....	1,853,000
Seaweed.....	.....	Clothing.....	2,088,483
Fishery.....	.....	Chinaware and	
Products.....	4,988,428	pottery.....	1,628,340

The possible increase of the commerce of the empire is suggested by the primitive character of its present internal communications. None of the roads are paved, and all are badly kept. There are only about one hundred miles of railway, with as yet a very limited (tho rapidly increasing) telegraphic service. An extensive trade is carried on over the numerous canals and navigable rivers, but with the limitations of native boats and boatmen.

Japan, newly awakened to industrial development and military prowess, is of especial interest to Americans, as its revival from medieval torpor to the light of the modern world was due to our own Commodore Perry in 1853. The sailing in of an American fleet, the touch of American life, and in less than half a century a new nation, changed as by the lapse of a thousand years!

The territory of the Island Kingdom comprises 147,655 square miles, while its population numbers 42,270,620. Of the total exports of Japan in 1896, valued at \$117,843,000, the United States took \$31,532,000—considerably more than any other country. Of imports to Japan, amounting to \$171,674,000 in the same year, the United States furnished only \$16,373,000, while Great Britain furnished imports valued at \$59,252,000, and Germany \$17,184,000. The exports from

Japan included rice (\$7,957,295), green tea (\$6,003,845), cuttle-fish (\$1,151,142), camphor (\$1,119,196), silk unmanufactured (\$31,595,037), silk goods (\$12,598,968), copper in ingots (\$2,423,116), copper manufactured (\$2,461,039), matches (\$4,986,260), coal (\$8,879,256), and floor mats and hemp carpets (\$4,208,936). The imports included sugar (\$13,711,738), raw cotton (\$32,573,352), cotton goods (\$19,233,852), woolen yarn and goods (\$9,610,279) iron in various forms (\$10,014,070), this total including more than two and a half million dollars' worth of iron and steel rails, and nearly three million dollars' worth of spinning machinery—both products representing an increasing demand ; there were also watches valued at \$1,897,481 and steam vessels valued at \$1,724,497. Of the somewhat more than 2,000 foreign vessels that entered Japanese ports in 1896, 1,096, of more than 2,000,000 tons, were British; 329, of 367,000 tons, were German; and only 96, of 139,000 tons, were American. Thus while taking more of the exports of Japan than any other nation, our vessels trading there number less than one tenth those of Great Britain, and less than one third those of Germany, while our tonnage is less than one fourteenth that of Great Britain, and little more than one third that of Germany—this in spite of



the fact that we have an absolutely clear waterway from our Pacific coast to Japan, while British and German vessels must sail a vastly greater distance, even if they go by way of the Suez Canal, and still more if they pass around the Cape of Good Hope. It would seem only a reasonable expectation of the future that our commerce with Japan should increase to match our free access and ample and hopeful trade.' With the increase of American shipping that ought to be, there would come a great increase of our imports to the Island Kingdom. So long as the bulk of the commerce is by British ships, sailing chiefly from British ports, those ships will take out for the most part British goods. Without loving England less, we must love our own country enough more to wish, in the spirit of honest, hearty commercial rivalry, that American ships may come to crowd the highway of the Pacific, bearing American goods in exchange for what we receive of the products of Japan.

Next to China, with its four hundred millions, comes India, with a population enrolled in 1891 as 221,172,952, but commonly estimated at three hundred millions, inhabiting 964,993 square miles. Great Britain, as the dominant nation, naturally controls the greater part of the trade of India. The imports of British India in 1897

were valued at about \$445,943,000; the exports at \$544,608,000. Of these imports the United States furnished \$7,335,000; and of the exports from India, the United States took \$24,068,530. The imports into India include cotton manufactures, hardware and cutlery, silk, sugar, woollen goods, railway materials and rolling stock, oils, machinery, coal, salt, spices, glass, drugs, etc. With our ample manufacturing facilities, and with the "open-door" policy that England favors, there is reason to believe that there may yet be a greatly increased importation into India of American goods, in exchange for the Indian products of rice, flaxseed, hides, jute, dyes, coffee, spices, sugar, choice woods, and other products.

South of China Proper, and east of Siam, France has appropriated an extensive territory, comprising about 300,000 square miles, with a population of about 17,000,000. The products are rice, maize, and other cereals, the areca nut, mulberry, cinnamon, tobacco, sugar, betel, manioc, bamboo and excellent timber, silk, indigo, pepper, coffee, sugar-cane, cotton, copra, etc., besides minerals, as gold, silver, iron, copper, and coal. The imports are valued at \$20,978,000, and the exports at \$30,212,000.

The old kingdom of Siam is waiting to be appropriated or partitioned. We are told that

"there is comparatively little industry in the country owing to the state of serfdom in which the population is kept by the local governors," and that "justice is little more than a name in the native courts." France has already appropriated (1893-96) 110,000 square miles of its territory. It is the unwritten law of nations and of Providence that any people that goes to sleep on the track of human progress does so at the peril of its life. It is well that it should be so. We no more want the conservative public policy that would maintain an effete civilization than the conservative surgery that would cherish a gangrened limb. Such as it is, Siam exports rice, pepper, salt, dried fish, cattle, and timber (the cutting of the latter being almost wholly in British hands, and the product amounting to about 20,000 logs in 1896). The total imports in the same year amounted to \$21,000,000, and the exports to \$30,000,000. Almost the whole of this trade is even now in the hands of foreigners. The present territory of the kingdom is reckoned at 200,000 square miles, with a population variously estimated, numbering probably about 5,000,000. When we would take account of its resources, we must add gold, tin, copper, iron, zinc, manganese, antimony, coal, quicksilver, rubies, sapphires, and diamonds.

The entire Malay peninsula, reaching south-

ward nearly to Sumatra, is included in the Straits Settlements, a British dependency, with its chief port at Singapore. The area is about 35,500 square miles, and the population about 500,000. The imports in 1896 were valued at \$201,344,000, and the exports at \$173,721,000. The exports comprise tin, sugar, pepper, nutmegs, mace, sago, tapioca, rice, buffalo hides and horns, rattans, gutta-percha, india-rubber, gambier, gum copra, coffee, dyestuffs, etc.

The British island of Hongkong, on the south-eastern coast of China, with its great city, Victoria, comprises within a space of 29 square miles a population of about 250,000. As a port of entry it has a very extensive trade, dealing in opium, sugar, flour, salt, earthenware, oil, amber, cotton and cotton goods, sandalwood, ivory, betel, vegetables, live stock, granite, etc.; 4,674 vessels of 6,164,057 tons entered the port in 1896. The imports were estimated at \$20,000,000, and the exports at \$10,000,000.

The Philippines, still so largely an unknown land, are credited under Spanish management with imports of \$10,937,000, and exports of \$20,756,000. The mighty commerce of Hongkong, lying just opposite Manila, suggests what the traffic of these rich islands might become in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon.

The Dutch East Indies, including Java, Sumatra, etc., with 736,400 square miles and a population estimated at 34,000,000, export sugar, coffee, tea, rice, indigo, cinchona, tobacco, and tin valued at \$90,035,000, and import goods valued at \$64,035,000. The product of sugar in 1896 was 500,000 tons, and of coffee 42,000 tons.

The group of islands forming the British colony of New Zealand, extending over 1,000 miles, strikingly suggest our own new dependency of the Philippines, to which they are nearly equal in area, containing 104,471 square miles, while the area of the Philippines, with the Sulu Islands, is 115,276 square miles. The New Zealand group contains a population of 703,360, exclusive of aborigines reckoned at about 50,000. It is only about fifty years that Great Britain has had official charge of this far-off colony, which has now attained so high a degree of prosperity and civilization.

In 1896, the crops included 6,844,000 bushels of wheat, equal to one-fifth of the wheat product of the United States; 12,264,000 bushels of oats, equalling nearly one-half the oat crop of the United States; also, more than 1,000,000 bushels of barley, and 140,000 tons of hay.

The largest items in the estimated value of

manufactures and produce were, in 1895: meat freezing and preserving, \$8,075,000; tanning, wool-scouring, etc., \$6,186,000; saw-mills and grain-mills, each over \$4,000,000; clothing and boot factories, more than \$3,000,000; butter and cheese factories, \$2,500,000; iron and brass works, \$1,500,000. The factory hands numbered 27,398, and the capital employed was estimated at \$28,980,000. The agricultural products might be attributed to the prodigal bounty of nature, but the manufactures show what the energies of civilized man can do in lands south of the equator.

The mineral produce of the islands amounted, in 1896, to 263,694 ounces of gold, valued at \$5,200,000; 94,307 ounces of silver, valued at \$50,000; 792,851 tons of coal; also antimony and manganese. The product of kauri gum was 7,126 tons, valued at more than \$2,000,000. The imports for 1896 were valued at \$35,685,000; and the exports at \$46,605,000. Of these imports the United States furnished goods valued at \$2,464,000; and of exports took goods valued at \$1,633,000. The imports included clothing and clothing materials (\$9,000,000), iron and steel goods and machinery (\$5,000,000), sugar, paper, books, tea, coal, fruit, oils, and fancy goods. The exports included wool (\$21,000,000), gold



(\$5,000,000), frozen meat, grain, kauri gum, tallow, lumber, hides, skins and leather, live stock, dairy products, etc.

About 600 vessels, of more than 600,000 tons, entered and cleared the ports of the colony. There are 2,185 miles of railroad and 6,285 miles of telegraph line, while all the chief towns have horse, steam, or cable street-railroad lines. The colony has 183 steam vessels, of 105,553 tons. The "South Sea Islanders" running factories, riding on steam and cable cars, and communicating by telegraph and telephone!

Space forbids more than the briefest summary of the other lands along the Pacific shores!

The first to be noted is the island continent of Australia, comprising 2,946,647 square miles, about half the area of South America, with a population of 3,283,000. The imports in 1896 were valued at \$271,000,000, and the exports at \$228,000,000. The exports include gold, copper, silver, tin, coal, pearls, wool, sugar, leather, sandalwood, and timber. The imports included almost all the products of America and Europe, including cycles valued at more than \$500,000. The bicycle has a future in the Orient, as one wheelman relates that he rode 1,200 miles on a perfect road through the heart of India.

The island of Tasmania, comprising 26,385

square miles with a population of 146,667, exports gold, silver, tin, wool, grain, fruit and jam, hops, hides, etc., amounting to \$5,960,000; and imports textiles, machinery, etc., amounting to \$7,350,000.

A British writer points out that when the Occidental races shall have brought the Orient up to their own plane of industrial advancement, the reflux wave must roll back upon South America till the vast wastes there, now ruined by the very exuberance of their own fertility, shall be reclaimed and made to help in the one great work—the sustentation of the human race.

It would be of exceeding interest to carry our survey up the South American coast; to consider Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia, with exports of nitrates, iodine, wheat, sugar, india-rubber, coca, rice, cinchona, alpaca, dyes and drugs, coffee, ivory nuts, guano, gold, silver, emeralds, copper, lead, zinc, quicksilver, coal, salt, sulfur, and petroleum.

The lands of Central America will find instant outlet through the isthmian canal, and be roused to new production by the fact of such a highway passing their doors, as Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, with soil in general of exceeding fertility, where “almost anything can be grown,” but where the chief crops

are of coffee and bananas, and of these only so much as can be produced with the minimum of human labor. Here, too, are known to exist gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, sulfur, iron, platinum, antimony, zinc, nickel, and coal, but the mines are for the most part unworked. All along this coast lies a world asleep waiting for the Anglo-Saxon touch. Mexico must yield her vast future wealth to the Atlantic through the Gulf. On the north, our own States of California, Oregon, and Washington, and British Columbia are treasure-houses for the supply of almost all human wants, and are bustling with industry capable of indefinitely increasing their productiveness and prosperity, when improved communications and expanding commerce give them ampler outlet. Here then is the balance-sheet of the Pacific shores:

Country.	Imports.	Exports.
Siberia .....	\$10,654,000	\$29,958,000
China .....	202,590,000	131,081,000
Korea .....	5,843,000	3,456,000
Japan .....	171,674,000	117,843,000
India .....	445,943,000	544,808,000
French Indo-China .....	20,978,000	30,212,000
Siam .....	21,000,000	30,000,000
Straits Settlements .....	201,344,000	173,721,000
Hongkong .....	20,000,000	10,000,000
Philippines .....	10,937,000	20,756,000
Dutch East Indies .....	64,035,000	90,035,000
Australia .....	271,000,000	228,000,000
New Zealand .....	35,685,000	46,605,000

Country.	Imports.	Exports.
Tasmania .....	7,350,000	5,960,000
British North Borneo .....	3,000,000	2,984,000
Fiji Islands .....	1,212,000	2,176,000
Hawaii .....	7,164,000	15,515,000
Chile .....	66,675,000	66,923,000
Peru .....	12,756,000	12,737,000
Ecuador .....	10,052,000	14,053,000
Colombia .....	11,528,000	15,088,000
Costa Rica .....	13,250,000	12,218,000
Nicaragua .....	3,730,000	5,647,000
Honduras .....	1,322,000	3,125,000
Salvador .....	9,750,000	7,500,000
Guatemala .....	11,429,000	11,500,000
California .....	45,586,000	44,540,000
Oregon .....	1,380,000	6,604,000
Washington .....	477,000	5,727,000
British Columbia .....	4,936,000	5,643,000
Alaska .....	.....	9,840,000
	1,693,280,000	1,704,055,000
To which may be added :		
East and South Africa ....	143,515,000	117,868,000
	\$1,836,795,000	\$1,821,923,000

Into these lands the Occidental nations are surely going. The race for the Orient has been in progress for more than four centuries, and the pace has been tremendous since England and France began their struggle for India one hundred and fifty years ago. Now that Russia is closing in upon China from the north, Germany on the east, and France on the south, the possibilities of the great and rich central region, China Proper, become of vast importance to England and America.

America does not wish, and England, probably, does not wish, to absorb any large section of China and hold it as a dependency. England might have taken whatever she pleased at the close of the so-called "opium war" with China, but contented herself with the island of Hongkong and the trading privileges of the "treaty ports." If England shall in the future appropriate any portion of Chinese territory, it will probably be only because of supposed commercial necessity, to keep formidable rivals from seizing the same territory in advance, and closing it to English trade.

For ourselves, so long as those lands are so governed that ordinary human rights—especially American rights—are secure there, we would much rather that some other power would do the governing. We do desire to take a share in the vast, rich trade of the Pacific lands, eastern and western, that shall fill our own Pacific ports with the stir and the wealth of commerce; to give our Atlantic ports a nearer, swifter way of access to the Orient; and to have harbors under American control, in which our ships may obtain coal, water, and all supplies, and repair or refit as needed under the shade of our flag, in the center of the vast basin or on its eastern, to us its far western, shore—at Honolulu or Manila.

## IX.

### THE DEBT OF HUMANITY.

The World-Wide Debt—Heroism of Missionaries—  
Their Service to Civilization—Julian Hawthorne  
on the Indian Famine—"The Enthusiasm of  
Humanity"—Captain Mahan on "the Spirit of  
the Crucified"—President Wayland on the  
Caffarian Kraal and the New England Village  
—The Missionary Nation vs. the Hermit  
Nation—The Expansion of Ideal—We Must do  
Something with the New Lands—Their Retro-  
cession to Spain—Senator Frye on Spanish  
Oppression in the Philippines—The Policy of  
Abandonment—General Merritt's Statement—  
The First Republic of the Orient.

ALL power is debtor to all weakness, all wisdom to all ignorance, all joy to all sorrow, all goodness to all wrong and sin which it can relieve or reclaim. Such is the exalted conception of Christianity, as expressed by the greatest man of the apostolic age, whose words have been oftener quoted than those of any other human being except Jesus Christ: "*I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise*



*and to the unwise."* He had received the legacy of the gospel with the mortgage of humanity upon it, and it was his life-study to pay to every human being some part of that great debt.

Men may debate as to the wisdom or the utility of missions, but it is not in human nature to withhold admiration from true exemplars of the missionary spirit. Augustine and his monks going to disciple the savages of Britain, turning with touching simplicity the very name of Angle into Angel, seeing with almost supernatural prescience the possible angel in the golden-haired barbarian; the Moravian Brethren in Jamaica and in Greenland, alike under the tropics or the Arctic circle, ready to become slaves, if that were necessary to enable them to reach the slaves; the Jesuits in North America, braving hunger, cold, and savage tortures to redeem our Indian tribes; Mackay giving his life for dark Uganda; Father Damien going to the lepers on dread Molokai, passing the portal through which he should never return, to be an outcast with the sufferers, toiling for them till he died, himself a leper among lepers—the heart must beat quicker, and our ideal of human nature rise in majesty as we contemplate such lives.

Nor have these been merely preachers. They have been civilizers as well. Dr. Marsh, in

tracing the spread of the English language, as quoted on a former page,<sup>1</sup> affirms:

“English-speaking missionaries have planted their maternal dialect at scores of important points, to which, had not their courage and self-devoting energy paved the way, not even the enterprise of trade could have opened a path.”

It was the work of missionaries, such as Bingham, Coan, and Bishop, that transformed the once savage Sandwich Islands into the now peaceful and prosperous Hawaii. It was the missionaries who obtained for the islands their first constitution, limiting the former uncontrolled tyranny of their kings; missionaries broke up the immemorial serfdom and secured to the people the individual ownership of their lands, gave sacredness to the marriage bond, and introduced popular education. In India, Julian Hawthorne<sup>2</sup>—no prejudiced observer—says that the missionaries are the best of all helpers of the people in time of famine. The Government plans well and gives largely, but in its final distribution of relief it must rely chiefly on native heathen officials destitute of the very idea of compassion. Then favoritism and speculation defeat the well-intended charity of the Government. The missionary, on the other hand, knows the people, is close to them, lives

<sup>1</sup> Ch. vii., p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> In *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*, October, 1897.

among them a life of self-sacrifice, and so far as he employs native agents, employs those who have caught his spirit—or, rather, the spirit of his Master. Then the relief reaches the need; for of these native disciples, Mr. Hawthorne writes, "My constant thought was, 'These are like the Bible people.'"

It is by the existence of this spirit anywhere, that the modern differs from the ancient world. By it Christianity has begun to "make all things new." Nor are we to think of this generous self-devotion as existing only among religious teachers, nor only even in the ranks of the church. Its beauty and glory have captivated many hearts, who do not consider that in obeying it they are so far following Christ. Far and wide, in Christian civilization, men have come to feel that in helping or protecting the weak and needy, man is most truly godlike. When yellow fever sweeps through the Southern land, or fire or flood or stormy wind lays Northern cities in ruin, the pouring in of relief begins as soon as the telegraph flashes the message of the need. The fireman venturing his life on the tottering wall to save the tenement-house child; the bicycle policeman flinging himself from his wheel at utmost speed to grasp the bridle of the horse that would else dash into the human throng; the surfmen dashing

through the wintry seas to rescue the survivors who cling to a stranded wreck; soldiers, surgeons, Red Cross nurses at the front of the battle in behalf of the suffering and the oppressed—these are ordinary types of the true American, and find kindred souls in every Christian land. As manifested outside of all religious forms and formulas, this spirit has been well termed “the enthusiasm of humanity,” and has become an increasingly important factor in the life and policy of the Western nations. Captain Mahan, writing not as a theologian, but as a naval strategist and historian, has well observed<sup>1</sup>:

“However far it has wandered, and however short of its pattern it has come, the civilization of modern Europe grew up under the shadow of the Cross, and what is best in it still breathes the spirit of the Crucified.”

It is this “spirit of the Crucified” that is now the greatest need of the nations. It is toward this that all that is best among the nations is steadily tending. That eminent Christian educator, Francis Wayland, thus sketches the missionary ideal<sup>2</sup>:

“In a word, point us to the loveliest village that smiles upon a New-England landscape, and compare it with the

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<sup>1</sup> “The Interest of America in Sea-Power,” p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., “Occasional Discourses,” p. 21, “The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise.”

filthiness and brutality of a Caffrarian kraal, and we tell you that our object is to render that Caffrarian kraal as happy and as gladsome as that New England village. Point us to the spot on the face of the earth where liberty is best understood and most perfectly enjoyed, where intellect shines forth in its richest luxuriance, and where all the kindlier feelings of the heart are constantly seen in their most graceful exercise ; point us to the loveliest and happiest neighborhood in the world on which we dwell, and we tell you that our object is to render the whole earth, with all its nations and kindreds and tongues and peoples, as happy, nay happier, than that neighborhood."

Let any one think but for a moment what would happen if such an ideal could come to be the cherished aspiration and controlling aim of all the leading nations. Men may call this a dream, but even as a dream it is sublime. Nothing less than this can be a worthy ideal for a great, free people. It is the missionary ideal, brought out from the church, separated from all creed or sect, and made the animating principle of nations and the foundation of public policy. This is the expansion we need—an expansion of polity, an exaltation of ideal. The distance from Cuba to the Philippines is not to be compared with the distance from the ideal of a hermit nation to the ideal of a missionary nation. It is this expansion of ideal that hurts those who have all their views, commercial, political, or theological, nicely adjusted to things just as they are. But the

*status quo* is forever crumbling. The providence of God is forever leading men and nations on to results they did not seek, but from which they can not hold back without being false to a Divine leading. Inheritors of all the sacrifices and toils of earth's noblest through all the past, we of the American republic are debtors to all the present and all the future. By as much as civil and religious freedom, popular education, even-handed justice, and stable government are precious to us, we owe it to the world to extend these blessings as far as our influence can reach. We owe the world the relief of suffering, the supply of need, the freedom of the oppressed—not where we can not reach, but where we can. Had it been in our power to interpose to stay the Armenian massacres, it would have been our duty to intervene, even at the cost of war. It was in our power to intervene in Cuba, and, at the cost of many cherished lives, that debt of humanity we have paid. The same war gave Puerto Rico and the Philippines into our hands. By the fortune of war our relation to those lands becomes different from our relation to all the rest of the world. We must act. Something we must do, if it be only to abandon them. Abandonment is action, and for the result even of abandonment we should be responsible still. The priest and the Levite got



away from the sufferer, but they did not get away from their responsibility, as they "passed by on the other side." Our responsibility is to do the very best thing that it is possible for us to do for the lands that we hold under the power of the sword. What is that best thing?

Is it to turn these islands back to Spain? Some recommend that course as the easiest for ourselves. Spain has a consistent record of misrule for four hundred years, in the Netherlands, in Portugal, in the West Indies, in Florida and Mexico, in all of South America, in the Ladrões, the Carolines, and the Philippines—the empire on whose atrocities in the olden time the sun never set, as she extended her domination from the eastern point of the Carolines to the western shores of North and South America, spanning four fifths of the circumference of the earth, or all the habitable globe, with the interruption of five thousand miles of sea, and made her dominion everywhere a curse. Undoubtedly there were many Spaniards who desired better things, as did Queen Isabella, who vainly sought to check the abuses of the early conquerors and colonists. But, just as undoubtedly, the men who held the actual power were men determined on merciless oppression. Just as undoubtedly, the Spanish people as a whole approve their colonial rule,

and Weyler is now a hero in Spain. A people must be judged by its official acts and the trend of its public policy, and not by the dispositions of individual citizens. As a governing power, Spain must be held to her record. Spain, with this record of colonial misgovernment, is now deporting a hundred thousand men from Cuba, because their oppression was too cruel for humanity to endure. Soldiers and commanders are smarting with the sting of defeat, and would be eager to avenge themselves and gain what are considered laurels in Madrid by the subjugation of some defenseless people. Shall we reject the proposed treaty, withdraw our forces from Puerto Rico and Manila, and say to Weyler and his abettors, "There is your prey! What you may do to those people is none of our concern?" Shall we say to the islanders: "Your protection would be too much trouble; we are going to send your oppressors back a hundred thousand stronger than ever before"?

Or shall we draw the line at Puerto Rico, and say, as one writer has put it: "We can not tolerate oppression close at hand, but our principles are not shocked if it goes on six or seven thousand miles away?" Will it give us an appetite for our breakfast to read in a telegram from Manila that a hundred or two of the captured "insurgents"

have been shot on the *Lunetta* for looting the arsenal at Cavité under the protection of Admiral Dewey's guns, when they supposed he had come as their deliverer?

It is hard to see how there can be an American whose blood will not tingle in his veins with shame and indignation at the mere suggestion of giving to Spain her long-oppressed subjects, who have trusted us as their emancipators. Do what else we will, this thing we simply can not do.

Senator Frye, of the Peace Commission, is quoted as follows, in an interview published in the *New York Tribune* of December 27, 1898:

"I do not see how any sane man, when the matter [of the treaty] is properly before the Senate, can oppose its ratification. Surely, there can be no intelligent man in the United States, unless he is a Spaniard, who will advocate the restoration of these islands to Spain. . . .

"You can hardly conceive anything more outrageous and horrible than has been the Spanish government of the Philippines. The evidence furnished us of cruelty and brutality disclosed a situation far more shocking than anything we have heard of the Spanish treatment in Cuba. The practises of the Inquisition were in vogue. Colonel Whittier showed us a number of statuettes made by a Filipino, who was a Spanish prisoner, illustrating the modes of torture inflicted upon prisoners by the Spanish religious orders—not by the local priests, who are kindly disposed toward the people, not by the Jesuits, who are engaged in educational work and are doing great good, but by the religious orders from outside. The licentiousness and greed and the shocking cruelty practised by these

people upon the inhabitants of the Philippines are too horrible for contemplation. One of the statuettes represented a man with a ring through his nose attached to a rope running through a pulley to the ceiling, and a friar lifting him off his feet by the nose and then letting him down, to make him confess that he was a Mason. Another was of a man with his ankles in stocks and a friar inflicting upon him the bastinado to make him confess he belonged to a secret society. Photographs were shown us of the shooting of hundreds of natives there by the Spanish soldiers, the prisoners bound and lined up along the street, the soldiers facing them, and it was made a grand fête and holiday. One picture showed the crowds assembled, and the men lined up just before they were shot; another showed them falling, after the order had been given to fire, and they were photographed lying dead on the ground. The stories of horrors, the people suffocated in the Black Hole, the testimony of photography and that taken from trustworthy witnesses, disclosed a brutality inflicted on the Filipinos under the Spanish rule equal to any of the horrors of the Inquisition. . . .

"I believe that there is a Divine Providence that directs the fate of nations as surely as it does that of men. These islands have fallen to our lot, and there is an obligation of Christianity and civilization which we can not avoid. This guiding Providence has placed before us this work to be done in the furtherance of civilization and humanity, and coupled with the obligations are associated recompense in the wide field of commercial development which must attend our progress in that direction."

But can we not simply retire from the islands and let them alone? Perhaps we might do so in the case of Puerto Rico, whose people are supposablely capable of establishing and maintaining a

free and independent government. Singularly enough, this is not suggested. But all the questions of *right* are the same for Puerto Rico as for the Philippines. If it is not right to take the Philippines by conquest, neither is it right so to take Puerto Rico. If Spain can not transfer the sovereignty of an archipelago in the Pacific without the formal consent of its people, neither can she so transfer the sovereignty of an island in the Caribbean. In that case our title to Puerto Rico is utterly worthless, and our continued control there is oppression. If we are to give up any new possession, Puerto Rico is the one to give up. Civilization there might maintain itself, and the island is near enough to our shores to enable us to protect it from aggression by any other power. But the Filipinos have not yet a civilization to maintain. No man who knows the people believes that they could establish and sustain even a tolerable government of their own. It is doubtful if they could even unite. There would be as many governments as there are chief islands. Some of the islands would certainly send out swarms of pirates, for they have scarcely been kept from doing so by the utmost exertion of Spanish power. Have we a moral right to abandon lands to which we can now give civilized government, and leave them a prey to warring

factions of barbarians? Were we to do so, would the European nations tolerate such a nest of anarchy and piracy—a derelict in the path of commerce? There would be instant intervention; and the ablest observers, English as well as American, predict that that would mean war. Our duty to humanity forbids that we should risk arousing a war among other nations for a possession that we ourselves might peacefully hold.

The suggestion that we sell the islands is perhaps scarcely worthy of serious answer. It is at once seen that any sale would involve the whole question of right of conquest or right of cession by Spain. For if our title to the islands is not absolutely clear and good, we have nothing to sell. We should not in any case sell our responsibility. If we were to pass the islands over to Japan, for instance, and if Japan were to oppress them, we should be to blame for having put them in her power. All our original protestations of philanthropy would be made ridiculous by a culmination of bargain and sale, and the German cartoonist could ask no better subject than Uncle Sam going out with the Bible under his arm to conquer for humanity, followed by Uncle Sam on the auction-block, selling Filipinos to the highest bidder. Whatever blunder we must commit, in the name of all that is sacred, or even respect-



able, let it be clear of vulgar mercenary speculation. Having driven away the oppressor, let us, if we must, pull down our unstained flag, and leave the islands to the scramble of the nations, sure that at least we have not betrayed them for silver or gold.

But have we a moral right to do even this? Gen. Wesley Merritt, the first American military governor of the Philippines, the commander who captured Manila, in an interview published in the *New York Tribune* of December 27, 1898, is quoted as saying:

"I firmly believe in the retention of the Philippines. We can not do otherwise than keep them. *If we dispose of them in any way to any other nation, it will certainly precipitate a war, and they are not yet capable of governing themselves.* Until that time, the best we can do is to give them a good military government, give them what civilians are necessary to administer the civilian functions of government, and when they are ready to form a government of their own, give them our blessing, and let them do so.

"Do I believe that time will ever come? I certainly believe that in time they will be capable of administering their own government. How soon, of course, no one can predict. That must depend largely on circumstances and the sort of government they have at the start. I do not believe the people of the Philippines expect to receive anything like Statehood. They do look forward to a colonial government, I believe.

"What is needed is a simple military administration, which can be easily furnished. The residents of Manila

and of the other parts of the archipelago who are well informed are intensely anxious that the United States shall retain control."

When the most competent observers thus advocate the retention of the Pacific islands, while no opponent has yet suggested any practicable and honorable way to surrender them, our duty would seem to be clear and single, to hold the islands and govern them well till we may trust them to govern themselves—the first republic of the Orient.

## X.

### COLONIAL POLICIES CONTRASTED.

**Two Colonial Policies, Spoliation vs. Protection and Development—Roman, Spanish, and British Colonies—Effect of the American Revolution—The Impeachment of Warren Hastings—Shall We Inherit the Spanish Method?—The Representation of the Vicious and Inevitable Battle—The Wider Responsibility Will Compel Better Government at Home.**

There are two ideals of colonial policy—the one of spoliation, the other of protection and development.

The Romans, the great colonizers of antiquity, while they oppressed, yet developed and enriched their colonies. They were too far-sighted to suppose that the glory of the Eternal City could be built upon impoverished and desolated provinces.

One of the precious things lost in the barbarian deluge was the art of colonization. When, in the fifteenth century, the introduction of the mariner's compass opened the way around the Cape of Good Hope and across the Atlantic, Spain and Portugal, the first great modern colonizers, de-

scended upon the new lands as robbers and invaders. All the ferocity of their mingled ancestry, Arabic, Vandal, and Visigothic, awoke at the sudden touch of opportunity. The colonies were helpless against European arms, and could be plundered. They were far from the dominion of even such imperfect law as then prevailed in Europe. There was no public opinion on the question of colonial administration. Cicero, Vespasian, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius were dead and forgotten in the long medieval night. Had they been remembered by the new colonists, it would have been only as pagans and heathens, from whom nothing could be learned. So the adventurers made a public opinion to suit their view of the occasion, which was, that as the colonies were undesirable places of residence in their then condition, there was no reason why Europeans should stay in them except to gain riches with which to return and enjoy themselves in Europe—this desirable result to be accomplished in the shortest possible time. All that could be found on top of the ground or under it was to be seized and carried off to what was facetiously termed “the mother country.” The natives were to be utilized as slaves to expedite the robbery, where that was possible, and to be exterminated where it was not. The possible future

of fair islands and vast continents, and of millions of inhabitants, was not for a moment considered.

This savage theory of spoliation dominated the colonial policy of all Europe for three hundred years, tho not everywhere carried out with the same ruthless consistency. The measures that drove the American colonies into revolt were but the logical result of the then generally accepted colonial policy. The American Revolution struck the first great blow at the system of spoliation that had till then prevailed unchallenged in the modern world. That successful revolution was a warning that could not be disregarded. We killed for all English lands the policy of keeping colonies in order to bleed them, and valuing them only for what could be wrung from them by the tax-gatherer and the soldier.

What the American Revolution had done for colonies of English stock, inheriting the fighting power that could stand face to face against oppression and exact deliverance or redress, Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings did for subject-peoples powerless to defend themselves. While the governor-general was acquitted at the bar of the House of Lords, he was convicted at the bar of history and of the national conscience of Great Britain. The public opinion of England, which is really the supreme law of the land, had defi-

nately and finally rejected the Spanish system of colonial spoliation.

England then entered on the nobler policy of attaching the colony by protection and by aid in the development of its internal resources—the policy that has made Canada, Australia, and Cape Colony essentially as free as the United States, but proud and happy in their nominal subjection, as allying them with all the power, glory, and prosperity of England.

Here, then, are the two systems: the system of spoliation, which Spain has held unyieldingly to the end; and the nobler system of protection and development, which England has substituted. Between these two colonial systems we must choose, for there is no third.

Nor should we escape the problem by surrendering all our dependencies. For what could be a greater *non sequitur* than to say: "Because we are unfit to govern any other people on earth, therefore we will stay at home, and wisely, justly, and mercifully govern ourselves"? Within our homeland are two Americas. On our own continent the battle must be fought. The better must control and transform the worse, or the worse will degrade and destroy the better. Because we are rich and strong, and misgovernment at home is not immediately fatal, good men



have come to view with an easy complacency the wide dominance of the vicious classes. It is well that our view should be extended. It is well that we should be aroused by a sharp crisis to face a wider responsibility. The determination to give good government abroad must react upon ourselves to compel better government at home.

There may be a colonial administration that shall fill those territories with prosperous, happy people, loyal to the flag that protects them and gives them prosperity, advancing in education, in agriculture, in manufactures, and in all useful arts, so that the American trader, tourist, scientist, or teacher may be as secure in those outlying lands as in a New England village, while the increasing products of colonial industry and the increasing demands of their rising civilization cause an ever-deepening stream of wealth to flow back to the governing nation by the natural, worthy, and healthful movement of honest trade.

We believe in the providence of God. The same power that has so wondrously guided our nation in the past has thrust upon us this new responsibility. Within the range of that providence are the resources to meet it. The virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of America have but to be aroused to invent new ways of extending the best fruits of our republican civilization over a wider area.

## XI.

### A TRUE COLONIAL POLICY.

**Welfare of Colonies Must be Some One's Business**  
—The Example of Alaska—The Word "Colony"  
—"Dependency" or "Territory" ?—A Colonial  
or Territorial Department Needed—The Right  
Man in Charge—A Thorough Civil Service—  
The Example of England in India—English  
Government of Cyprus—The Vicious Element of  
America to be Kept Out of the Colonies—Lord  
Kitchener on the Liquor Traffic in the Sudan  
—Military Government—General Wood at San-  
tiago—Native Colonial Soldiers—Three Classes  
of English Colonies—American Traditionalism—  
Congress Given Free Choice of Methods by the  
Constitution—By the Declaration of Independ-  
ence—Autonomous Territories and Allied Re-  
publics—The First Republic of the Orient.

How are we to fulfil our trust for the peoples  
that have come, for a time at least, under our care?

The first requirement is that their welfare shall  
be some one's special charge. We must avoid  
the condition of things which a thoughtful inves-  
tigator<sup>1</sup> declares to prevail in Alaska:

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<sup>1</sup> David Starr Jordan, President Leland Stanford Uni-  
versity, California, in article on "Colonial Lessons of  
Alaska," in *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1898.

"The virtual ruler of Alaska is the Secretary of the Treasury. But in his hands, however excellent his intentions, good government is in large degree unattainable for lack of power. Important matters must await the decision of Congress. The wisest plans fail for want of force to carry them out. The right man to go on difficult errands is not at hand, or, if he is, there is no means to send him. In the division of labor which is necessary in great departments of government, *the affairs of Alaska*, with those of the customs service elsewhere, *are assigned to one of the assistant secretaries. Of his duties Alaskan affairs form but a very small part, and this part is often assigned to one of the subordinate clerks.*"

A territory comprising 530,000 square miles assigned to the Treasury Department, and there relegated to an overworked assistant of an assistant secretary, who gives the affairs of the territory a little attention when he can! What wonder that the state of things should follow which the same writer thus describes:

"The most vital legislation in regard to Alaska may fail of passage, because no Congressman concerns himself in it. Alaska has no vote in any convention or election, no delegate to be placated, and can give no assistance in legislative log-rolling. In a large degree, our legislation at Washington is a scramble for the division of public funds among the different congressional districts. In this Alaska has no part. . . . Above all, what is everybody's business is nobody's, and what happens in Alaska is generally nobody's business. No concentration of power, no adequate legislation, no sufficient appropriation—on these forms of neglect our failure chiefly rests. . . ."

His conclusion seems irresistible:

"If we have colonies, even one colony, there must be some sort of a colonial bureau, some concentrated power which shall have exact knowledge of its people, its needs, and its resources. The people must be protected, their needs met, and their resources husbanded. . . ."

Objection is made to the use of the word "colony," on the ground that our dependencies are not properly colonies, with the exception of Hawaii, which has been largely settled by Americans, whose descendants have become the dominant class upon the islands. It is true that the term "colony" has been quite generally used of outlying territories, without reference to the population occupying them, the people of the dominant nation being sure to be present sooner or later in considerable numbers. The term "colony" is a convenient one, especially as readily forming the adjective "colonial." Americans, however, do not take kindly to the term, perhaps by reason of some disagreeable reminiscence of "a previous condition of servitude," perhaps because the most we have seen of colonies on our own continent has not been inviting. "Dependency," the most strictly descriptive word for our new possessions, is far aside from popular usage, and does not admit of an adjective, unless we were to coin one as "dependential." Perhaps the very best usage

for us will be found in simple extension of the Old World "territory," applying it, with its adjective "territorial," to remote as well as to near possessions. But the suggestion of a "bureau" does not seem equal to the need.

The colonies or territories should be the care of a department in charge of a secretary who should be the peer of any man whom we might send to the Court of St. James, or of any man who might hold the office of Secretary of State, with the duties of which department those of his own would often interlace; for peace or war will often depend upon our management of these outlying possessions. He must be a man great enough to feel himself responsible to history, at once too honorable and too proud to consent that while Britain develops her colonies and at the same time enriches herself, American control, as administered by him, should bring to American colonies more than Spanish desolation. The post is one that might have worthily taxed the highest abilities of Washington or Hamilton, of Daniel Webster or Henry Clay, of Lincoln or Garfield. Washington and his compeers had but to conquer freedom for men who had proved themselves fitted for it. The colonial administrator of to-day has to lead on to freedom races now manifestly unfit for it. He must be a man

who can take world-wide views, balancing nations against each other as the astronomer weighs the planets against the sun. He must have the vision of centuries, and be able to establish maxims and methods that will be foundation-stones of colonial policy for ages to come, not by blind tradition, but because they deserve to be.

He must be deeply possessed by the conviction that we are to develop the colonial peoples and lands primarily for themselves—to make the earth richer, better, happier, a better home for humanity and more worthy of God; that this is the true Americanism, our flag everywhere carrying protection, freedom, and blessing on every sea and shore; that such colonial government is doing the greatest thing that can be done to secure enduring freedom at home and peace among the nations.

The man who can build up such a colonial policy will build himself a monument imperishable through all time, and will establish a precedent from which no successor will dare or be allowed widely and long to depart.

A mighty public opinion should demand that none but a statesman of the highest character and ability be appointed as Secretary of the Colonies or Territories of the United States. To the creation of such a public opinion every one who



can speak or write, and every one who has political, social, or business influence, should set himself. There can be a public demand so urgent in its insistence and so commanding in its purpose as to insure its own fulfilment, all that is best in the hearts of the American people responding to the appeal. If we have a Department of the Territories, the few remaining on the continent might be included in its jurisdiction. Some of these, as the Indian Territory and Alaska, will surely remain in the territorial condition for a long time to come. The head of this Colonial or Territorial Department would soon have the authority of an expert. He would come to have a knowledge of the needs of the lands and people such as the average Congressman could not hope to equal, and be the best adviser of Congress as to needed legislation. His reports would be looked for as part of the regular machinery of the government, and his recommendations be considered in the regular line of official business. Each house of Congress would have a committee on the Colonies or Territories to whom all matters connected with this department would be referred. The attention of the whole nation would be called to the reports and recommendations of the Secretary of the Colonies or Territories, as to those of the Secretary of the Treasury, or of the Army or

Navy. If Alaska were included, as it should be, in the new department, the jurisdiction of the department would extend over about seven hundred thousand square miles and ten millions of people. Failure to recognize and provide for such a domain in a manner worthy of its greatness will be fatal to all our plans and hopes as a beneficent world-power.

With the right man in charge of the new department, the administration of its affairs should be subjected to a thorough civil-service system. If we really mean to do well by our new dependencies, the place-hunting policy must be disowned from the outset, and rotation in office resolutely denied. As soon appoint a man to command a battle-ship through political favoritism, and displace the commander from time to time to give some new political favorite a chance of "rotation"! We do not do this where we feel that great interests are at stake, and we must feel that our colonial interests are great and sacred.

Great Britain, the foremost colonizer of all time, has found the chief remedy against official plundering of the natives in high salaries and a well graded and firmly administered civil service. Lord Macaulay, who spent some of the best years of his life in India as a member of the Supreme

Council, thus describes the modern system which has replaced the old policy of spoliation :

“ At present [1840], the writer enters the service young ; he climbs slowly ; he is rather fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand [pounds] a year, and with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India ; but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men from England, . . . nor can any talents, however splendid, nor any connections, however powerful, obtain those lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door, and mounted by the regular gradations. ”

This is well, not because it is British, but because it is rational and sensible. Our colonial interests are of vast importance to the colonial peoples, to our own standing among the nations, and most of all to the future of the republic by their reaction on our own Government and people. These interests must never be confided to unworthy, nor—when it can be avoided—to unpractised hands. It takes a foreigner long to learn the language of a new land, and longer still to learn its manners, customs, and modes of thought and feeling, ignorance of which is liable to shock, to alienate, or even to drive to open riot or rebellion. It is well known that the re-

quirement that the Sepoys should bite a greased cartridge was one of the chief causes of the Indian mutiny. In order to know language and people well, the official should begin his work while quite young, learn the language and customs while in a subordinate place where his ignorance and his blunders will have least power for harm. Then, as he advances by regular promotion to places of responsibility, he will come with that experience and training that will qualify him to do best for his Government, just as the same qualities would enable him to do best for a commercial house. Patriotism requires that the Government should be as well served as a private establishment. Humanity requires that colonial peoples shall not be given up to hordes of office-seekers, every man of whom knows his tenure of office to be short and precarious, so that he is bidden to plunder all he can from a people whom he never expects to see again, and is discouraged from all attempt to benefit a people whose needs he has not even time to learn.

Among our American people there are great numbers of young men of high character, true ambitions, and sufficient education who would gladly accept employment in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, or the Philippines, on an adequate salary, enabling them to lay up something every year, and

assuring them by middle age, on condition of efficiency and good behavior, a reasonable competency "slowly, hardly, and honestly earned." A position given and held on such terms would have attached to it that which men of the right stamp value more than gold—the high honor that attends high character. We can create such a state of things that to have held a place in the colonial civil service of the United States till honorably discharged or retired shall be as honorable as a like service in the army or navy, where the fact that the man has continuously held the position of an officer, with regular advance from grade to grade, is presumptive evidence of the possession of many high qualities of manhood.

The requirements of faithfulness and efficiency, of protracted residence, with advancement only by regular promotion, would at once exclude the whole vicious, fortune-seeking herd, who regard life in the new lands as a lottery where they will take the chances of a blank for the chance of a fortune; and the exclusion of that element is the very thing we want. Such a system will secure the advantage of tried and trusted agents of our Government, with whom it is at once a matter of interest and of honor to secure the advancement and prosperity of our island dependencies, to

which each man gives the best part of a busy and adventurous life.

We must never forget that the real value of a dependency is, not in what can be wrung from it at the outset, but in the increasing returns it can be made to yield as a well-managed investment through a long series of years. The effect of the more generous and broad-minded policy which Great Britain now maintains is, that while its civil salaries in India amount to more than \$40,000,000, its revenue exceeds \$250,000,000. Surely this is the real and good economy.

With an administration such as has thus been outlined, the administrators may be comparatively few. This at once disposes of the objection that we must maintain great standing armies. It is bad government that requires a host of officials with an army at their back. If we are going to exploit and oppress our colonies as Spain did, we must maintain such an army as Spain maintained. Rather, we must have a far larger one, for we should never be content to half suppress a revolt. The simplest way is not to have the revolt to suppress. It is possible so to govern that the governed shall be glad of the supremacy that gives them security, order, education, and prosperity. This is intelligent and



statesmanlike dominion. Thus, in Cyprus, now prospering as the result of twenty years of British rule, we are informed that "the *personnel* of the administration does not exceed one hundred individuals," controlling a population of 200,000. Great Britain has no revolts there to quell, while the neighboring island of Crete, under Turkish dominion, has been in a perpetual state of ferment, insurrection, and anarchy.

The hardest thing we shall have to do is to restrain with an iron hand the worst elements of our own population from touching the people we have undertaken to protect. For this there must be a strong government in control of our colonies. The colonial administration must be strong enough to govern the colonies well, at the same time that it is held responsible for their being well governed. We must say to the vicious elements of our population: "If the people of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago see fit to be governed by such as you, it is not the province of the general Government to intervene; but the new lands the general Government holds in trust and under its absolute control; and those lands you shall not plunder and debauch."

In this connection it is gratifying to note the words of Lord Kitchener at Edinburgh, just before his return to the newly conquered Sudan.

He said, as quoted by *The Alliance News*, of Manchester:

"I think all agree that our first task will be to civilize the inhabitants of those vast districts in the valley of the Nile which it has fallen to our lot to be responsible for administering. We have done a great deal already, and we are still working hard to open up those countries to easy access. By this means we hope to introduce and facilitate trade, which, in some of its aspects, is a very large civilizing element. AT THE SAME TIME WE WISH TO PREVENT, SO FAR AS WE CAN, THE INTRODUCTION WITH TRADE OF THOSE PER-NICIOUS ADJUNCTS, THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND DISHONEST DEALING WITH NATIVES, WHICH TOO FREQUENTLY IN NEW COUNTRIES ACCOMPANY IT."

As pointing in the same direction, it is gratifying to note the report by cable that a Cairo paper positively asserts that the Egyptian Government, which is dominated by English influence, will issue a decree forbidding the liquor traffic in the Sudan.

So acute an observer as Lord Kitchener has doubtless noted the harm done by the liquor traffic in the Kongo valley, where matters have reached such a pass that the natives will not work without rum, and much of the time can not work with it, while drunkenness largely nullifies the labors of missionaries, makes barbarism more hopeless, destroys the demand for the products of

civilized industry, and threatens the extinction of the native races.

In contrast with these salutary cautions regarding the British Sudan comes the report that American brewers sent in one shipment 89 carloads of beer to Manila, estimated at nearly 10,000 gallons. The reporter remarks that the beer "seems to go with civilization." A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, in the issue of December 3, 1898, under the caption "Havana Like an American City," writes:

"American business men are making themselves felt, tho, as usual, the saloon man is the first to offer his goods to the public. American saloons are opening in all parts of the city, while gamblers are ready to open games as soon as protection is afforded. This is something not likely to be given, as army officers are opposed to permitting gambling of any sort."

Let us hope that the closing words may indeed prove true. If we are to teach the people of our dependencies in Orient or Occident that drunkenness is freedom, that the cool gambler fleecing the native out of his last peseta is the typical American, and that the life of the slums of New York or Chicago is the ideal civilization, we had much better leave the natives to the sometimes sanguinary, but comparatively wholesome methods of unpervverted barbarism.

Military government is undoubtedly the best

for our new dependencies at the outset, because it admits of that downright, wholesome paternalism which undeveloped peoples need. It is hard to see what could be better than the government of General Wood at Santiago, repressing disorder, supporting the helpless, finding work for thousands of able-bodied men, many of whom might else have been converted into thieves or bandits, cleaning that city till he had to close his yellow-fever hospital for want of patients, and that while the disease was still rife at Havana. The man who did all this was able at the same time so to win the hearts of the people that they accompanied him to the landing at his departure, with tears and cheers and every token of grateful regard. No great standing army will be needed to maintain despotism such as this!

The army of occupation that may be required should be as largely as possible recruited from among the native people under American officers. There would then be no vast host of Americans exposed to the diseases of tropical lands. The small number required could have exceptional opportunities for taking care of themselves. Native troops can endure the climate, and for them military service would prove an admirable school, teaching discipline, subordination, cleanliness, and the sense of personal responsibility and per-

sonal honor. Officers have the strongest motives to teach their men and to teach them well. If the officer of such a command does not develop, train, and elevate his men, wo to him when he leads them into battle! The admirable behavior of our negro troops in the Cuban campaign shows what can be done for a race that has had few opportunities when carefully trained by officers inheriting a higher civilization. Cubans, Puerto Ricans, or Filipinos would be the better for campaigning under American commanders, and would soon know and prize the advantage. We need have no fear that such an army would be brought back to crush freedom on our own continent. England is in no danger of enslavement by an army of Sepoys brought from India by an English prime minister.

The whole purpose of our occupation, civil or military, must be everywhere just what we have proclaimed it to be in Cuba—to enable the people “to establish and maintain a stable government of their own at the earliest possible moment.” Great Britain, the foremost colonizing power of all time, divides her colonies proper into three classes: (1) The *crown colonies*, which are entirely controlled by the home Government; (2) those possessing *representative institutions* in which the crown has no more than a veto on

legislation, but the home Government retains the control of public officers; and (3) those possessing *responsible government*, in which the home Government has no control over any public officer, tho the crown appoints the governor and still retains a veto on legislation. Besides these, she has a varied assortment of "protectorates" and "spheres of influence," where her own control is more or less direct, but within which she allows no rival power to exercise authority.

In America we talk of English stolidity and conservatism. Yet England has three colonial systems. England recognizes the fact that different methods may be best for various situations, and for peoples in distinct stages of advancement. She does not attempt to govern the continental domain of Canada just as she does the two square miles of the rock of Gibraltar.

But we in our green youth—little more than a hundred years old—think there can be only one territorial system, and that the very one we have had heretofore. There must be a governor, appointed by the President, a legislature of two houses, elected by the people, and all the machinery of an incipient State of the Federal Union. Even this can only be allowed on the definite expectation that the Territory so governed is to become a State. So insidious is the growth



of traditionalism that we are gravely assured the Constitution allows no other possible method.

As matter of fact, the Constitution is absolutely silent as to methods of territorial government. The only constitutional provision on the subject is the following:

“The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States; *and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice the claims of the United States or of any particular State.*”

Did those great statesmen foresee that different administrations might be required in various places in the unknown future, and leave this so indefinite in order that each Congress might be free at its own discretion to decide what might be “needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States”? The Constitution does not even provide that a Territory shall have a governor, much less a legislature, but leaves all open to the future, so that any one of various other methods might be employed, if Congress should judge it “needful.” In the words above italicized, it would seem that the founders of our Government expressly guarded against those narrow constructions of the Constitution that would “prejudice the claims of the United States” to any territory that may fall

under its control simply by the fact and right of its existence as a sovereign nation.

At all events, urge the objectors, we are estopped by the Declaration of Independence from taking territory by conquest or from holding territory otherwise than as an integral part of the Federal Union, sooner or later to be erected into States. Let us go to that venerated instrument and see what it does provide. Singularly enough the opponents of expansion stop at the preamble, which speaks of "governments . . . deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." If this is true without qualification, there has never been a just government of the American Indians. It is not that we have not governed them well, but that we have had no "just power" to govern them at all. We should have left this continent to be a hunting-ground of savages forever, if they so desired. "Declaration" or not, we do not suppose there are a dozen Americans who believe this.

But leaving the preamble, let us pass on the closing paragraph, which is the essential part of the document—the real "Declaration":

"WE, THEREFORE, . . . DO, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, SOLEMNLY PUBLISH AND DECLARE that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; . . . and that AS FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES,

THEY HAVE FULL POWER to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, AND DO ALL OTHER ACTS OR THINGS WHICH INDEPENDENT STATES MAY OF RIGHT DO."

We have only to inquire, then, what are some of those "acts or things which independent States may of right do"? All such "acts or things," according to the Declaration of Independence, the United States has full power to do. Had England a right to conquer the Sudan as a means of repressing barbarism and abolishing the slave-trade? Then, according to the Declaration of Independence, the United States has precisely equal right to achieve a like conquest in a similar case. The nation founded on that Declaration has all the rights that properly grow out of the right of sovereignty.

As to colonies, then, our inquiry comes to be simply, What may any independent State "of right do" for or with a feebler people? All that the United States has "full power" to do.

Why may we not, then, adapt our territorial governments to the varying conditions of lands that may need our care, or which it may be necessary for us, as a sovereign state, to control for our own protection? Why may we not acquire distant possessions that we could not well incorporate with our own, and hold them as autono-

mous Territories of the United States, till they shall be ready to become Allied Republics?

While in the territorial condition we may give them as much representation—more or less—as they can bear consistently with the maintenance of a stable government, able to preserve the interests of civilized society. If, in any special case, as of the Philippines, a simple protectorate, or other system involving oversight with slight control, should seem best, this nation has “full power” to establish such a system. The working of the Dutch Residency system in Java is thus graphically described:<sup>1</sup>

“In the island of Java, which has a population of twenty-two millions, the natives, like the Filipinos, are chiefly Malays, Arabs, and Chinese, in addition to the Javanese proper. They are governed not only with their consent, but with their cordial cooperation. They preserve intact under the Dutch colonial system the language, religion, customs, and laws which they enjoyed as Malay principalities; they know even now of no government save that of their hereditary rajahs, in their hereditary palaces, at the hereditary courts, where a Dutch resident has been so long a discreet and valued counselor.

“The sovereignty of Holland is represented by a governor-general, who resides in Batavia; by a resident at the court of each rajah or sultan, by a controller at the minor court of each district chief, and by a collector in

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<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Perry Belmont in New York *Herald*, January 13, 1898.

each village. No bayonets are needed to enforce their authority. The governor-general is known to each rajah as an official who takes a friendly interest in his affairs and those of the entire island. The resident is known to each rajah as his own personal counselor.

"The controller helps each district chief to administer any difficult affairs that arise, and the collector collects for the village chief the revenue of his own special village.

"The police force is made up almost entirely of natives, with a Dutch superintendent at its head. Under a Dutch commander-in-chief a few hundred Dutch officers maintain a high order of discipline in a small standing army, recruited in the main from the Javanese. From colonial revenues Holland has not only paid off the entire national debt since 1833, but the home treasury has been still further enriched by the enormous sum of \$500,000,000. The net annual colonial revenue, after all expenses are paid, is now about \$10,000,000."

As, under the fostering care of the United States, the people gain in education and in the habitudes of free institutions, we might make them more and more independent, until at length we should retain only the bond of protection, with its corollary of so much control as to prevent any act of the islanders involving us in war or discredit with any foreign nation.

Under such a system, it is not clear why we may not have as wide a chain of dependencies as Great Britain, leading them steadily up to republican independence, and increasing the area of freedom all over the earth.

## XII.

### POSSIBILITIES OF OUR NEW POSSESSIONS.

**Hawaii—Increase of Imports and Exports—Popular Education—The English Language Everywhere Spoken—Cuba Almost Unknown—Never Even Surveyed by Spaniards—Its Climate—Sanitation Needed—Best Given by American Military Occupation—Need of Roads—Agricultural and Mineral Products—Character of the Cuban People—Puerto Rico as a Health Resort—The Philippines Unexplored—Wonderful Fertility—Known to be Rich in Gold and Other Minerals—Popular Education and Religious Liberty will Make for All a New Future.**

The future of Hawaii is practically assured. The industrial system of the island-group, already so largely Americanized, will be perfected by the abolition of "contract labor," that form of slavery into which a man is allowed to sell himself. The change will do much for popular freedom, for the dignity of labor, for the general increase of wages, and to prevent the introduction of alien and largely degraded elements among the people. The increase of imports from \$4,684,000 in 1892 to \$7,164,000 in 1896, and of exports from





\$8,060,000 to \$15,515,000 during the same five years, shows how rapidly the islands are advancing commercially.

Of the Hawaiian people, Mr. L. A. Thurston says:<sup>1</sup>

"Most of the lawyers and judges are either from the United States or educated therein. The public-school system is based upon that of the United States. There are one hundred and eighty-seven of them, taught by four hundred and twenty-six teachers, and containing 12,600 pupils, all taught in the English language. More than one half the teachers are Americans. English is the official language of the schools and courts, and the common language of business. The railroads, cars, engines, water-works, water-pipes, dynamos, telephones, fire apparatus, are all of American make. United States currency is the currency of the country.

"The people of Hawaii, as a whole, are energetic and industrious. They are annually producing and exporting more per capita than any other nation in the world. . . .

"As a matter of fact there are no poor-houses, paupers, beggars, or tramps in Hawaii. . . .

"Within a hundred years Hawaii possessed a population of 400,000 people, who were supported by the lax methods of cultivation then in effect. With the advanced methods of to-day, and the irrigation of the heretofore barren plains, there is no reason why Hawaii can not support a population of a million as easily as it now does 100,000. With stability of government will come immigration, development, and growth, which will as certainly take place in Hawaii as it has in all the other territories heretofore annexed by the United States."

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<sup>1</sup> "The Annexation of Hawaii," p. 16.



Our knowledge of the lands received from Spain is still very imperfect. Of Cuba, which the Spaniards have ruled and occupied for four centuries, *The National Geographic Magazine* for May, 1898, page 197, remarks as follows:

"No accurate trigonometric surveys have been made of the island and its bordering islets, including 570 cays adjacent to the north coast and 730 to the south, or to the Isle of Pines, a large and important dependency. Nearly all existing geographic data have been based upon a large map compiled by Pilchardo, engraved in Barcelona, which was a compilation of local surveys of various and doubtful degrees of accuracy."

From such a statement appears the need of such commissions of investigation as the United States has already sent, and the exceeding wisdom of President McKinley in thus beginning with getting the facts as the foundation for a policy.

Cuba knows nothing of those vicissitudes of heat and cold so trying in our Northern climate. The range of the thermometer at Havana is but from 72° in the coldest days of winter to 88° in the hottest days of summer. At Santiago, the range is from 73° to 84°. The unhealthfulness of the island is stated on the highest authority to be due to the utter neglect of sanitary precaution.

Just here comes in one of the great possibilities of American occupation. Our first work must be one of sanitation. The lamented Colonel Waring, who gave his life to the investigation, has left an appalling statement of the conditions now existent in Havana. Yet he assures us that complete relief is practicable, and may be immediate, by the introduction of modern methods of sanitation, at a cost not exceeding \$10,000,000.

Here, then, is our immediate duty. The United States has not the moral right to retire from the island, leaving Havana as a pest-house for the nations, with its harbor an open cesspool two miles across and four hundred years old. The Cuban republic, if installed to-morrow, would be too weak to undertake and carry through a work of this magnitude, which concerns us as much as it does the Cubans—perhaps even more. For doing this work, nothing could be so favorable as the present occupation of the island by American military power. Military authority, absolute and imperious, can simply do what needs to be done, without waiting for a vote. The gratitude of all humanity will be the subsequent ratification of the accomplished fact.

In addition to this, there is need of a system of good highways throughout the island, to the want of which Spain's failure to suppress the

several revolts is ascribed. The wonderful productiveness of the island in sugar and tobacco is well known, but it is not so generally known that all the chief fruits and grains at once of the tropics and of the temperate zone are readily produced. More than 13,000,000 acres of uncleared forest remain, including at once the palm and the pine, of mahogany, and other choice woods.

The mineral resources of the island, including iron, asphaltum, manganese, copper, and salt, will now be developed as never before. The copper is known to be of great richness, and the iron-mines near Santiago, under control of an American company, have been reopened, and promise profitable operation under American protection.

The character of the Cuban people is thus stated in *The Geographic Magazine* (p. 227):

Altho of Spanish blood, the Cubans, through adaptation to environment, have become a different class from the people of the mother country ; just as the American stock has differentiated from the English. Under the influence of their surroundings, they have developed into a gentle, industrious, and normally peaceable race, not to be judged by the combativeness which they have developed under a tyranny such as has never been imposed upon any other people. The better class of Camagueynos, as the natives are fond of calling themselves, are certainly the finest, the most valiant, and the most independent men of the island, while the women have the highest type of beauty. It is



their boast that no Cuban woman has ever become a prostitute, and crime is certainly almost unknown among them. . . .

We would help the best elements of the Cuban people to make Cuba prosperous, happy, and free in some form of cordial alliance with the American Union.

The beautiful island of Puerto Rico may become popular under the new *régime* as a winter health resort. It will be strange if American occupation does not develop new sources of prosperity.

Of the Philippine Islands we know even less than of Cuba. Sugar, rice, tobacco, coffee, indigo, cotton, the cocoanut, and even the celebrated "Manila hemp," the most valuable product of the islands, are cultivated only in the most primitive and inefficient way. The forests are full of choice woods never yet utilized. Gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and a variety of coal are known to exist, but no adequate survey has ever been made, nor have intelligent mining operations ever been undertaken.

The native people are in various degrees of advancement, from barbarism to a high degree of civilization. They possess many excellent traits, and are peaceable when well treated. But civilization has not been presented to them in lovely




guise by the government, nor Christianity by the church, as they have known it. They need to come in contact with a truly modern civilization that shall infuse a new spirit into their life. With the American system of popular education, with true religious liberty, the free gospel and the open Bible, we may confidently expect that these hitherto undeveloped people will become worthy components of the American republic.

That white men can live in those islands, with reasonable conformity to tropical conditions, is admitted by the most competent authorities. Benjamin Kidd, in his "Control of the Tropics," has shown that the temperate regions will need for their future food-supply the tropical lands. When their resources are once tamed, controlled, and harnessed, those lands will be the future granaries of the world. With proper engineering and sanitation, and due use of inventive skill, Americans can live in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Luzon, and Mindanao, as they have lived and become the ruling power in Hawaii. All that American rule has done for Florida and Louisiana, for Texas and California, which within this century were languishing under Spanish rule, the same American supremacy may do for the new lands that have come under the shelter of our flag.



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